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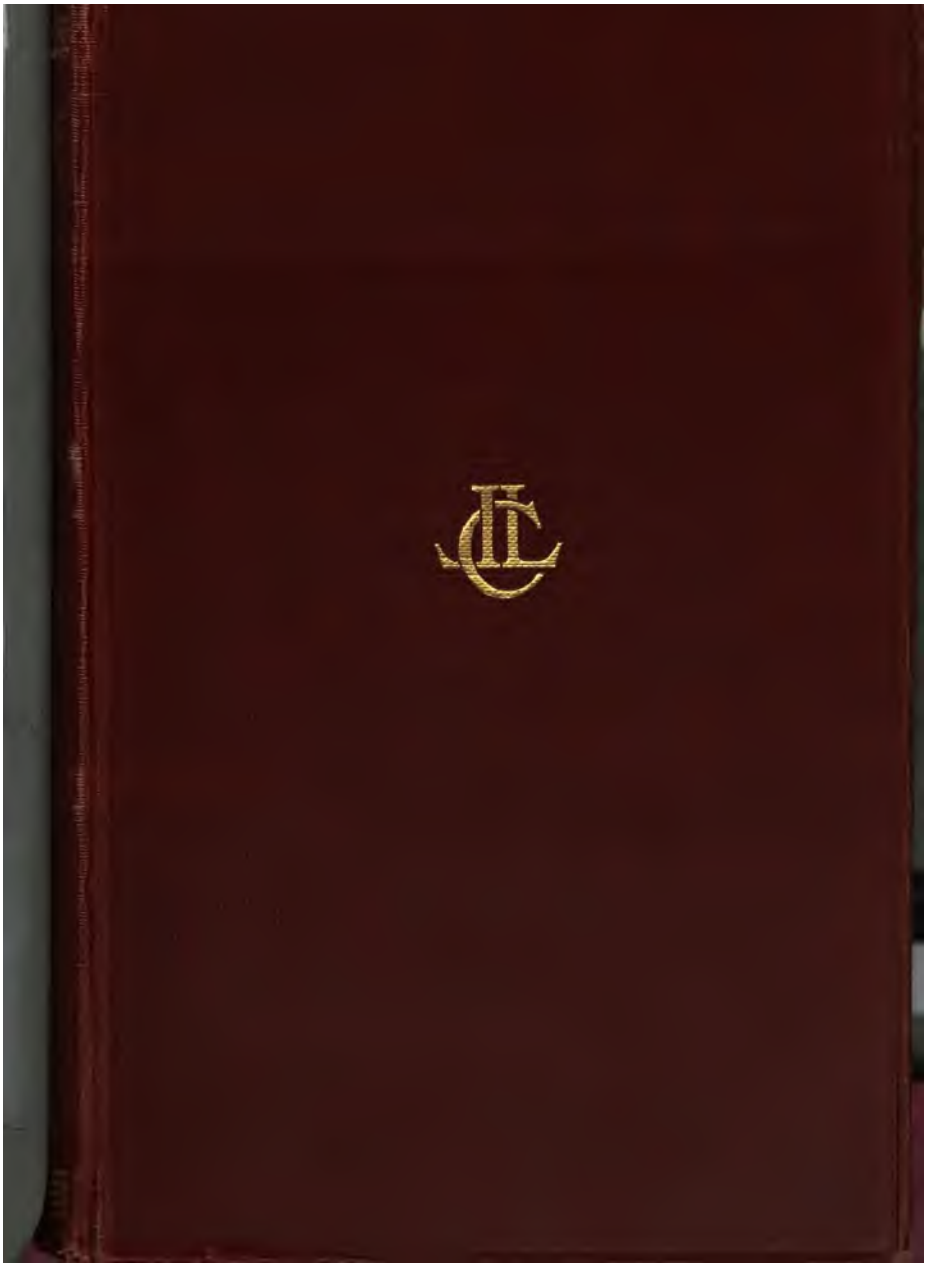

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THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

DAVID MAGIE, PH.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

III

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SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

VALERIANI DUO

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

. . . . . .

1. . . . Sapori regi regum vel soli[1]: "Si scirem posse aliquando Romanos penitus vinci, gauderem tibi
2 de victoria, quam praefers. sed quia vel fato vel virtute gens illa plurimum potest, vide ne, quod senem imperatorem cepisti et id quidem fraude, male tibi
3 cedat et posteris tuis. cogita quantas gentes Romani ex hostibus suas fecerint, a quibus saepe[2] victi sunt.
4 audivimus certe quod Galli eos vicerint et ingentem illam civitatem incenderint; certe Romanis serviunt. quid Afri? eos non vicerunt? certe ser-
5 viunt Romanis. de longioribus exemplis et fortasse

[1] So Salm.; *Saporis rex regum uel solus* P; *Velsolus* Peter[2] Hohl. [2] *sepe* Σ; *nempe* P corr.

---

[1] The biographies of the emperors Philippus Arabs (244-249), Decius (249-251), Trebonianus Gallus (251-253), Aemilianus (253), and perhaps of their sons also, presumably formed part of the series (see *Aur.*, II. 1), but are missing from the collection as extant. With them has disappeared also the greater part of the *vita* of Valerian (P. Licinius Valerianus), made emperor in 253 and taken prisoner by Sapor I., Sassanid king of the Persians (see note to *Gord.*, XXVI. 3) in 259 or 260. The only extant portion of this *vita* is the close, containing

THE TWO VALERIANS[1]

BY

TREBELLIUS POLLIO

. . . . . .

I. . . . to Sapor, the King of Kings[2] or, in fact, Sole King: "Did I but know for a certainty that the Romans could be wholly defeated, I should congratulate you on the victory of which you boast. But inasmuch as that nation, either through Fate or its own prowess, is all-powerful, look to it lest the fact that you have taken prisoner an aged emperor, and that indeed by guile, may turn out ill for yourself and your descendants. Consider what mighty nations the Romans have made their subjects instead of their enemies after they had often suffered defeat at their hands. We have heard, in fact, how the Gauls conquered them and burned that great city of theirs; it is a fact that the Gauls are now servants to the Romans. What of the Africans? Did they not conquer the Romans? It is a fact that they serve

chiefly the fabricated "documents" so greatly beloved by these authors; see Vol. I., Intro., p. xix f.

[2] The title "King of Kings" was used by Sapor on his coins and in his inscriptions (*e.g.*, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων in *C.I.G.*, 4676 = *O.G.I.*, 434).

E 2

inferioribus [1] nihil dico. Mithradates Ponticus totam Asiam tenuit; certe victus est, certe Asia Roman-
6 orum est. si meum consilium requiris, utere occasione pacis et Valerianum suis redde. ego gratulor felicitati tuae, si tamen illa uti tu scias."

II. Velenus rex Cadusiorum sic scripsit: "Remissa mihi auxilia integra et incolumia gratanter accepi. at captum Valerianum principem principum non satis gratulor, magis gratuler, si redderetur. Romani enim
2 graviores tunc sunt, quando vincuntur. age igitur ut prudentem decet, nec fortuna te inflammet, quae multos decepit. Valerianus et filium imperatorem habet et nepotem Caesarem, et quid ad omnem orbem illum Romanum, qui contra te totus insurget?
3 redde igitur Valerianum et fac cum Romanis pacem, nobis etiam ob gentes Ponticas profuturam."

III. Artavasdes rex Armeniorum talem ad Saporem epistulam misit: "In partem gloriae venio, sed
2 vereor ne non tam viceris quam bella severis. Valerianum et filius repetit et nepos et duces Romani et omnis Gallia et omnis Africa et omnis Hispania et omnis Italia et omnes gentes quae sunt in Illyrico atque in oriente et in Ponto, quae cum Romanis

[1] *inferioribus* Obrecht, Peter; *interioribus* P, Σ.

---

[1] A Median people, living on the S.W. coast of the Caspian Sea, also called Gaeli.

[2] *i.e.*, Gallienus.

[3] There were three Armenian kings of this name during the second and first centuries before Christ and the first century after Christ, but none in the third century. If the author is not merely using a well-known name to give verisimilitude to the letter, as seems most likely, he may have in mind Artavasdes the Mamiconaean, regent for the young Tiridates III. during the period which followed the death of his father,

them now. Examples more remote and perhaps less important I will not cite. Mithradates of Pontus held all of Asia ; it is a fact that he was vanquished and Asia now belongs to the Romans. If you ask my advice, make use of the opportunity for peace and give back Valerian to his people. I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, but only if you know how to use it aright."

II. Velenus, King of the Cadusii,[1] wrote as follows : " I have received with gratitude my forces returned to me safe and sound. Yet I cannot wholly congratulate you that Valerian, prince of princes, is captured ; I should congratulate you more, were he given back to his people. For the Romans are never more dangerous than when they are defeated. Act, therefore, as becomes a prudent man, and do not let Fortune, which has tricked many, kindle your pride. Valerian has an emperor for a son [2] and a Caesar for a grandson, and what of the whole Roman world, which, to a man, will rise up against you? Give back Valerian, therefore, and make peace with the Romans, a peace which will benefit us as well because of the tribes of Pontus."

III. Artavasdes,[3] King of the Armenians, sent the following letter to Sapor : " I have, indeed, a share in your glory, but I fear that you have not so much conquered as sown the seeds of war. For Valerian is being sought back by his son, his grandson, and the generals of Rome, by all Gaul, all Africa, all Spain, all Italy, and by all the nations of Ilyricum, the East, and Pontus, which are leagued with the

Chosroes I., about 250, as is supposed by P. Asdourian, *Polit. Beziehungen zw. Armenien u. Rom.*, p. 127 f.

3 consentiunt aut Romanorum sunt. unum ergo senem cepisti sed [1] omnes gentes orbis terrarum infestissimas tibi fecisti, fortassis et nobis, qui auxilia misimus, qui vicini sumus, qui semper vobis inter vos pugnantibus laboramus."

IV. Bactriani et Hiberi et Albani et Tauroscythae Saporis litteras non receperunt sed ad Romanos duces scripserunt auxilia pollicentes ad Valerianum de captivitate liberandum.

2 Sed Valeriano apud Persas consenescente Odaenathus Palmyrenus collecto exercitu rem Romanam 3 prope in pristinum statum reddidit. cepit regis thesauros, cepit etiam, quas thesauris cariores habent 4 reges Parthici, concubinas. quare magis reformidans Romanos duces Sapor timore Ballistae atque Odaenathi in regnum suum ocius se recepit. atque hic interim finis belli fuit Persici.

V. Haec sunt digna cognitu de Valeriano, cuius per annos sexaginta vita laudabilis in eam conscenderat gloriam ut post omnes honores et magistratus insigniter gestos imperator fieret, non, ut solet, tumultuario populi concursu, non militum strepitu, sed iure meritorum et quasi ex totius orbis una sententia. 2 denique si data esset omnibus potestas promendi arbitrii quem imperatorem vellent, alter non esset electus.

3 Et ut scias quanta vis in Valeriano meritorum

[1] *cepisti sed* Petschenig, Hohl; *cepistis et* P.

---

[1] From Trans-Caucasia. [2] See note to *Hadr.*, xxi. 13.
[3] In S. Russia, north of the Crimea.
[4] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. [5] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xviii.

Romans or subject to them. So, then, you have captured one old man but have made all the nations of the world your bitterest foes, and ours too, perhaps, for we have sent you aid, we are your neighbours, and we always suffer when you fight with each other."

IV. The Bactrians, the Hiberians,[1] the Albanians,[2] and the Tauroscythians [3] refused to receive Sapor's letters and wrote to the Roman commanders, promising aid for the liberation of Valerian from his captivity.

Meanwhile, however, while Valerian was growing old in Persia, Odaenathus the Palmyrene [4] gathered together an army and restored the Roman power almost to its pristine condition. He captured the king's treasures and he captured, too, what the Parthian monarchs hold dearer than treasures, namely his concubines. For this reason Sapor was now in greater dread of the Roman generals, and out of fear of Ballista [5] and Odaenathus he withdrew more speedily to his kingdom. And this, for the time being, was the end of the war with the Persians.

V. This is all that is worthy of being known about Valerian, whose life, praiseworthy for sixty years long, finally rose to such glory, that after holding all honours and offices with great distinction he was chosen emperor, not, as often happens, in a riotous assemblage of the people or by the shouting of soldiers, but solely by right of his services, and, as it were, by the single voice of the entire world. In short, if all had been given the power of expressing their choice as to whom they desired as emperor, none other would have been chosen.

Now in order that you may know what power lay

fuerit[1] publicorum, ponam senatus consulta, quibus animadvertant omnes quid de illo semper amplissimus ordo iudicaverit.

4 Duobus Deciis consulibus sexto kal. Novembrium die, cum ob imperatorias litteras in Aede Castorum senatus haberetur, ireturque per sententias singulorum, cui deberet censura deferri (nam id Decii posuerant in senatus amplissimi potestate), ubi primum praetor edixit: "Quid vobis videtur, patres conscripti, de censore deligendo?" atque eum, qui erat princeps tunc senatus, sententiam rogasset absente Valeriano (nam ille in procinctu cum Decio tunc agebat), omnes una voce dixerunt interrupto more dicendae sententiae: "Valeriani vita censura
5 est. ille de omnibus iudicet, qui est omnibus melior. ille de senatu iudicet, qui nullum habet crimen. ille de vita nostra sententiam ferat, cui nihil potest
6 obici. Valerianus a prima pueritia fuit censor. Valerianus in tota vita sua fuit censor. prudens senator, modestus senator, gravis senator. amicus bonorum, inimicus tyrannorum, hostis criminum,
7 hostis vitiorum. hunc censorem omnes accipimus, hunc imitari omnes volumus. primus genere, nobilis

[1] *fuerit* Σ, Peter, Hohl; *fuit* P.

---

[1] The spuriousness of this "senatus consultum" is sufficiently shown by the fact that Decius died in the summer of 251. For other such "senatus consulta" see *Maxim.*, xvi.; *Gord.*, xi.; *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 3-4; *Claud.*, iv.; *Aur.*, xix.; xli.; *Tac.*, iii.; *Prob.*, xi. 5-9.

[2] See note to *Maxim.*, xvi. 1.

[3] The attempt to revive the censorship, as described here, is as fictitious as the "senatus consultum" itself, and is merely a part of the biographer's tendency to magnify the importance of the senate. It is true, however, that Decius in 250 conferred

in the public services of Valerian, I will cite the decrees of the senate,[1] which will make it clear to all what judgement concerning him was always expressed by that most illustrious body.

In the consulship of the two Decii, on the sixth day before the Kalends of November, when, pursuant to an imperial mandate, the senate convened in the Temple of Castor and Pollux,[2] and each senator was asked his opinion as to the man to whom the censorship[3] should be offered (for this the Decii had left in the power of the most high senate), when the praetor had first announced the question, "What is your desire, Conscript Fathers, with regard to choosing a censor?" and then asked the opinion of him who was then the prince of the senate[4] in the absence of Valerian (for at that time he was in military service with Decius), then all, breaking through the usual mode of giving the vote, cried out with one voice:[5] "Valerian's life is a censorship. Let him judge all, who is better than all. Let him judge the senate, who is free from guilt. Let him pronounce sentence on our lives, against whom no reproach can be brought. From early childhood Valerian has been a censor. All his life long Valerian has been a censor. A wise senator, a modest senator, a respected senator. The friend of the good, the enemy of tyrants, the foe of crimes, the foe of vices. He it is whom we all accept as censor, whom we all desire to imitate. Foremost 27 Oct., 25

on Valerian some important position—ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησις, according to Zonaras, xii. 20.

[4] Valerian is said to have held this office as early as 238; see *Gord.*, ix. 7.

[5] On such acclamations in the senate see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1. They are also found in *Claud.*, iv. 3-4; xviii. 2-3; *Tac.*, iv. 1-4; v. 1-2; vii. 1; *Prob.*, xi. 6-9; xii. 8.

sanguine, emendatus vita, doctrina clarus, moribus
8 singularis, exemplum [1] antiquitatis." quae cum
essent saepius dicta, addiderunt, "omnes," atque ita
discessum est.

VI. Hoc senatus consultum ubi Decius accepit,
omnes aulicos convocavit, ipsum etiam Valerianum
praecepit [2] rogari, atque in conventu summorum
2 virorum recitato senatus consulto, "Felicem te," in-
quit, "Valerianum, totius senatus sententia, immo
animis atque pectoribus [3] totius orbis humani. suscipe
censuram, quam tibi detulit Romana res publica, quam
solus mereris, iudicaturus de moribus omnium, iudica-
3 turus de moribus nostris. tu aestimabis qui manere
in Curia debeant, tu equestrem ordinem in antiquum
statum rediges, tu censibus modum pones, tu vecti-
galia firmabis divides statues, tu [4] res publicas recen-
4 sebis; tibi legum scribendarum auctoritas dabitur, tibi
5 de ordinibus militum iudicandum est; tu arma respicies;
6 tu de nostro Palatio, tu de iudicibus, tu de praefectis
eminentissimis iudicabis; excepto denique praefecto
urbis Romae, exceptis consulibus ordinariis et sac-
rorum rege ac maxima virgine Vestalium (si tamen
incorrupta permanebit) de omnibus sententias feres.
laborabunt autem etiam illi, ut tibi placeant, de quibus
7 non potes iudicare." haec Decius. sed Valeriano
sententia huiusmodi fuit: "Ne, quaeso, sanctissime
imperator, ad hanc me necessitatem alliges, ut ego

[1] *exemplo* P, Hohl. [2] *praecepit* Σ; *praecipit* P, Peter.
[3] *pectoribus* Σ; *peccatoribus* P. [4] *statues tu* Hohl; *statues* Σ; *statu* P; *tu* Peter.

---

[1] See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

in family, noble in blood, free from stain in his life, famed for his learning, matchless in character, a sample of the olden times." When all this had been said repeatedly, they added, "All with one accord," and so they departed.

VI. When this decree of the senate was brought to Decius, he called all his courtiers together and gave orders that Valerian, too, should be summoned. Then, having read the decree before this assemblage of the foremost men, he said: "Happy are you, Valerian, in this vote of the entire senate, or rather in the thoughts and the hearts of the whole world of men. Receive the censorship, which the Roman commonwealth has offered you and which you alone deserve, you who are now about to pass judgement on the character of all men, on the character of ourselves as well. You shall decide who are worthy to remain in the Senate-house, you shall restore the equestrian order to its old-time condition, you shall determine the amount of our property, you shall safeguard, apportion and order our revenues, you shall conduct the census in our communities; to you shall be given the power to write our laws, you shall judge concerning the rank of our soldiers, and you shall have a care for their arms; you shall pass judgement on our Palace, our judges and our most eminent prefects; in short, except for the prefect of the city of Rome, except for the regular consuls,[1] the king of the sacrifices, and the senior Vestal Virgin (as long, that is, as she remains unpolluted), you shall pronounce sentence on all. Even those on whom you may not pass judgement will strive to win your approval." Thus Decius; but Valerian's reply was as follows: "Do not, I pray you, most venerated Emperor, fasten upon me the

iudicem de populo, de militibus, de senatu, de omni
8 penitus orbe iudicibus et tribunis ac ducibus. haec sunt propter[1] quae Augustum nomen tenetis; apud vos censura desedit, non potest hoc implere privatus.
9 veniam igitur eius honoris peto, cui vita impar est, impar est confidentia, cui tempora sic repugnant, ut censuram hominum natura non quaerat."

VII. Poteram multa alia et senatus consulta et iudicia principum de[2] Valeriano proferre, nisi et vobis pleraque nota essent, et puderet altius virum extollere, qui fatali quadam necessitate superatus est. nunc ad Valerianum minorem revertar.

VIII. Valerianus iunior, alia quam Gallienus matre genitus, forma conspicuus, verecundia probabilis, eruditione pro aetate clarus, moribus periucundus atque a fratris dissolutione seiunctus, a patre absente Caesar est appellatus, a fratre, ut Caelestinus dicit,
2 Augustus. nihil habet praedicabile in vita, nisi quod est nobiliter natus, educatus optime et miserabiliter interemptus.
3 Et quoniam scio errare plerosque, qui Valeriani imperatoris titulum in sepulchro legentes illius Valeriani redditum putant corpus, qui a Persis est captus, ne ullus error obrepat, mittendum in litteras censui hunc Valerianum circa Mediolanum sepultum addito titulo Claudii iussu: "Valerianus imperator."

[1] *propter* om. in P and Σ. [2] *de* Σ, Peter; *seu* P.

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[1] See note to *Gall.*, xiv. 10. [2] Otherwise unknown.

necessity of passing judgement on the people, the soldiers, the senate, and all judges, tribunes and generals the whole world over. It is for this that you have the name of Augustus. You it is on whom the office of censor devolves, for no commoner can duly fill it. Therefore I ask to be excused from this office, to which my life is unequal, my courage unequal, and the times so unfavourable that human nature does not desire the office of censor."

VII. I could, indeed, cite many other senatorial decrees and imperial judgements concerning Valerian, were not most of them known to you, and did I not feel ashamed to extol too greatly a man who was vanquished by what seems a destined doom. Now let me turn to the younger Valerian.

VIII. Valerian the younger,[1] the son of a different mother from Gallienus, conspicuous for his beauty, admired for his modesty, distinguished in learning for one of his years, amiable in his manners, and holding aloof from the vicious ways of his brother, received from his father, when absent, the title of Caesar and from his brother, so says Caelestinus,[2] that of Augustus. His life contains nothing worthy of note, save that he was nobly born, excellently reared, and pitiably slain.

Now since I know that many are in error, who have read the inscription of Valerian the Emperor on a tomb, and believe that the body of that Valerian who was captured by the Persians was given back again, I have thought it my duty, that no error might creep in, to set down in writing that it was this younger Valerian who was buried near Milan and that by Claudius' order the inscription was added: "Valerian the Emperor."

4 Non puto plus aliquid vel de maiore Valeriano vel
5 de iuniore requirendum. et quoniam vereor ne modum voluminis transeam, si Gallienum, Valeriani filium, de quo iam multus *et fortasse nimius* nobis fuit sermo *in illius vita*, vel Saloninum filium etiam Gallieni, qui et *Saloninus et* Gallienus est dictus in *historia sui temporis*, *huic* libro adiunctos *edam, nunc* ad aliud volumen transeam*us, ut iubetur.* semper enim nos vobis dedim*us* et famae, cui negare nihil possumus.[1]

[1] Italics are supplements of Peter to fill lacunae in P.

Nothing further, I think, should be demanded concerning either older or younger Valerian. And since I fear to exceed the proper limit of a volume, if I add to this book Valerian's son Gallienus, concerning whom we have already said much, and perchance too much, in the life of his father, or even Gallienus' son Saloninus,[1] who is called in the history of his time both Saloninus and Gallienus, let us now pass, as we are bidden, to another volume. For, indeed, we have ever submitted to you and to Fame, to whom we can make no refusal.

[1] See *Gall.*, xix 1-4.

GALLIENI DUO

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I. Capto Valeriano (enimvero unde incipienda est Gallieni vita, nisi ab eo praecipue malo, quo eius vita depressa est?), nutante re publica, cum Odaenathus iam orientis cepisset imperium, Gallienus comperta patris captivitate gauderet, vagabantur *ubique* exercitus, murmurabant *omnibus in provinciis* duces, erat omnium *ingens* maeror, quod *Valerianus* imperator Romanus in Perside serviliter teneretur. *sed erat etiam maior* omnium *maestitia* quod Gallienus *nanctus imperium ut* pater fato sic *ipse* moribus rem *publicam* perdiderat.[1]

[1] Italics are supplements of Obrecht and Peter to fill lacunae in P.

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[1] P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Augustus (253-260 with Valerian; 260-268 sole emperor). The biographer, like Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, portrays Gallienus in the worst possible light—a tendency due, partly, to senatorial hostility aroused by his exclusion of senators from military commands (Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 33 f.), but particularly to the desire, by blackening Gallienus, to enhance the glories of his successor Claudius, who, as the reputed ancestor of Constantius Chlorus (see note to *Claud.*, xiii. 2), is made the hero of this series of biographies. Consequently, the depreciation of Gallienus, as neglecting the welfare of the Empire and interested only in amusements and debauchery, and the

THE TWO GALLIENI

BY

TREBELLIUS POLLIO

I. When Valerian was captured (for where should we begin the biography of Gallienus,[1] if not with that calamity which, above all, brought disgrace on his life?), when the commonwealth was tottering, when Odaenathus had seized the rule of the East, and when Gallienus was rejoicing in the news of his father's captivity, the armies began to range about on all sides, the generals in all the provinces to murmur, and great was the grief of all men that Valerian, a Roman emperor, was held as a slave in Persia. But greater far was the grief of them all that now having received the imperial power, Gallienus, by his mode of life, as his father by his fate, brought ruin on the commonwealth.[2]

exaltation of Claudius (and his descendant) form the principal theme of the series. A more favourable and, as it is now generally believed, a more truthful, account of his reign is given by the Greek writers Zosimus (i. 30-40) and Zonaras (xii. 24-25). The modern point of view (based on these writers and supported by the evidence of inscriptions and archaeological research), which represents Gallienus as an active and able ruler, has been excellently presented by L. Homo in *Rev. Hist.*, cxiii. pp. 1-22; 225-267.

[2] Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xii. 8.

2 Gallieno igitur et Volusiano consulibus Macrianus et Ballista in unum coeunt, exercitus reliquias convocant et, cum Romanum in oriente nutaret imperium, quem facerent imperatorem requirunt, Gallieno tam neglegenter se agente ut eius ne mentio quidem apud
3 exercitum fieret. placuit denique ut Macrianum cum filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem publicam de*fensendam* . . capesserent ..... sic igitur ...
4 imperium ... *delatum est* ... Macriano ..... causae Macri*ano* ..... imperandi[1] cum filiis haec fuerunt: primum quod nemo eo tempore sapientior ducum habebatur, nemo ad res regendas aptior; deinde ditissimus et qui privatis posset fortunis publica explere
5 dispendia. huc accedebat quod liberi eius, fortissimi iuvenes, tota mente in bellum ruebant, ut essent legionibus exemplo ad omnia *munera*[2] *milit*aria.

II. Ergo Ma*crianus* ..... undique *auxilia* ... petiit occupa*tis* a *se* ... partibus, quas ipse ... posuerat[1] ita *ut firmaret* imperium. *deinde* bellum *ita* instruxit *ut par* esset omni*bus*, quae contra eum poterant cogitari.[3]
2 idem Macrianus Pisonem, unum ex nobilibus ac[4] principibus senatus, ad Achaiam destinavit ob hoc ut Valentem, qui illic proconsulari imperio rem publicam
3 gubernabat, opprimeret. sed Valens, comperto quod Piso contra se veniret, sumpsit imperium. Piso igitur

[1] So P; lacunae closed up in *Σ*. [2] *munera* suppl. by Editor; lacuna in P. [3] Italics are supplements of Jordan to fill lacunae in P. [4] *ac* Kellerbauer, Hohl; *a* P; *et* Peter.

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[1] The date 261 is incorrect, for papyri show that Macrianus and Quietus were recognized as emperors in Egypt in Sept., 260. On this revolt see *Tyr. Trig.*, xii-xiv.; xviii. This *vita*, beginning as it does with this event, omits any account of Gallienus' success in repelling the Germans who attempted to

So then, when Gallienus and Volusianus were 261
consuls, Macrianus and Ballista met together, called in the remains of the army, and, since the Roman power in the East was tottering, sought someone to appoint as emperor.[1] For Gallienus was showing himself so careless of public affairs that his name was not even mentioned to the soldiers. It was then finally decided to choose Macrianus and his sons as emperors and to undertake the defence of the state. And so the imperial power was offered to Macrianus. Now the reasons why Macrianus and his sons should be chosen to rule were these: First of all, no one of the generals of that time was held to be wiser, and none more suited to govern the state; in the second place, he was the richest, and could by his private fortune make good the public losses. In addition to this, his sons, most valiant young men, rushed with all spirit into the war, ready to serve as an example to the legions in all the duties of soldiers.

II. Accordingly, Macrianus sought reinforcements on every side and, in order to strengthen his power, took control of the party which he himself had formed. So well did he make ready for war that he was a match for all measures which could be devised against him. He also chose Piso,[2] one of the nobles and of the foremost men in the senate, as governor of Achaea, in order that he might crush Valens,[3] who was administering that province with the authority of a proconsul. Valens, however, learning that Piso was marching against him, assumed the imperial power. Piso, therefore, withdrew into Thessaly, and there he,

invade Gaul in 254-258 or of his suppression of the revolt of Ingenuus in Pannonia in 258 or 259 (see *Tyr. Trig.*, ix.).

[2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. [3] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xix.

in Thessaliam se recepit. ubi missis a Valente militibus cum plurimis interfectus est. ipse quoque imperator appellatus cognomento Thessalicus.

Et[1] Macrianus retento in oriente uno ex filiis, pacatis iam rebus, Asiam primum venit et[2] Illyricum petiit, in Illyrico cum Aureoli imperatoris, qui contra Gallienum imperium sumpserat, duce, Domitiano nomine, manum conseruit, unum ex filiis secum habens et triginta milia militum ducens. sed victus est Macrianus cum filio Macriano nomine deditusque omnis exercitus Aureolo imperatori.

III. Turbata interim re publica toto penitus orbe terrarum, ubi Odaenathus comperit Macrianum cum filio interemptum, regnare Aureolum, Gallienum remissius rem gerere,[3] festinavit ad alterum filium Macriani cum exercitu, si hoc daret fortuna, capiendum. sed ii qui erant cum filio Macriani, Quieto nomine, consentientes Odaenatho auctore praefecto Macriani Ballista iuvenem occiderunt missoque per murum corpore Odaenatho se omnes affatim dedidерunt. totius prope igitur orientis factus est Odaenathus imperator, cum Illyricum teneret Aureolus, Romam Gallienus. idem[4] Ballista multos Emesenos, ad quos confugerant Macriani milites, cum Quieto et thesaurorum custode interfecit, ita ut civitas paene deleretur.

[1] *et* Peter; *haec* P. [2] *et* ins. by Peter; om. in P and by Hohl. [3] *rem gerere* Salm., Peter; *ingerere* P. [4] *idem* Σ Peter; *id est* P.

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[1] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xii. 14.

[2] This statement (also in c. iii. 1) is incorrect, for Aureolus did not declare himself emperor until 268, and was at this time acting as Gallienus' general; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 1.

[3] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv.

together with many, was slain by the soldiers sent against him by Valens. Now Piso, too, was saluted as emperor with the surname Thessalicus.

Macrianus, moreover, now that the East was brought into subjection, left there one of his sons, and came first of all into Asia, and from there set out for Illyricum. Here, having with him one of his sons and a force of thirty thousand soldiers, he engaged in battle with Domitianus,[1] a general of Aureolus the emperor, who had assumed the imperial power in opposition to Gallienus.[2] He was, however, defeated, together with his son, Macrianus by name, and his whole army surrendered to the Emperor Aureolus.

III. Meanwhile, when the commonwealth had been thrown into confusion throughout the entire world, Odaenathus,[3] learning that Macrianus and his son had been slain, that Aureolus was ruling, and that Gallienus was administering the state with still greater slackness, hastened forward to seize the other son of Macrianus, together with his army, should Fortune so permit. But those who were with Macrianus' son—whose name was Quietus—taking sides with Odaenathus, by the instigation of Ballista, Macrianus' prefect, killed the young man, and, casting his body over the wall, they all in large numbers surrendered to Odaenathus. And so Odaenathus was made emperor over almost the whole East, while Aureolus held Illyricum and Gallienus Rome. This same Ballista murdered, in addition to Quietus and the guardian of his treasures, many of the people of Emesa,[4] to whom Macrianus' soldiers had fled, with the result that this city was nearly destroyed. Odaenathus, meanwhile, as if

[4] The city of Homs in central Syria.

5 Odaenathus inter haec, quasi Gallieni partes ageret, cuncta eidem nuntiari ex veritate faciebat.

6 Sed Gallienus, cognito quod Macrianus cum suis liberis esset occisus, quasi securus rerum ac patre iam 7 recepto, libidini et voluptati se dedidit. ludos circenses ludosque scaenicos, ludos gymnicos, ludiariam etiam venationem et ludos gladiatorios dedit populumque quasi victorialibus diebus ad festivitatem ac 8 plausum vocavit. et cum plerique patris eius captivitatem maererent, ille specie decoris, quod pater eius virtutis studio deceptus videretur, supra modum 9 laetatus est. constabat autem censuram parentis eum ferre non potuisse votivumque[1] illi fuisse quod imminentem cervicibus suis gravitatem patriam non haberet.

IV. Per idem tempus Aemilianus apud Aegyptum sumpsit imperium occupatisque horreis multa oppida 2 malo famis pressit. sed hunc dux Gallieni Theodotus conflictu habito cepit atque imperatori*is ornamentis exutum Gallieno* vivum transmisit. Aegyp*tus post haec Theodoto* data est; *Aemilianus in carcere* strang*ulatus; in Thebaitanos* milites *quoque sae*vitum est *interfectis complu*ribus.[2]

3 Cum Gallienus in luxuria et improbitate persisteret cumque ludibriis et helluationi vacaret neque aliter rem publicam gereret, quam cum pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates, Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxuriosos principes

[1] *que* ins. by Klotz: *cum . . . potuisset* Peter, Hohl.
[2] Italics are supplements of Obrecht to fill lacunae in P (cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 8).

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[1] On the contrary, he seems, after suppressing the revolt of Ingenuus (see note to c. i. 1), to have returned to Gaul to take up the war against Postumus (cf. c. iv. 4)
[2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii.

taking the side of Gallienus, caused all that had happened to be announced to him truthfully.

Gallienus, on the other hand, when he learned that Macrianus and his sons were slain, as though he were secure in his power and his father were now set free, surrendered himself to lust and pleasure.[1] He gave spectacles in the circus, spectacles in the theatre, gymnastic spectacles, hunting spectacles, and gladiatorial spectacles also, and he invited all the populace to merriment and applause, as though it were a day of victory. And whereas most men mourned at his father's captivity, he, under the pretext of doing him honour—on the ground that his father had been caught through his zeal for valour—made merry beyond measure. It was generally supposed, moreover, that he could not endure his father's censure and that it was his desire to feel no longer his father's authority bearing heavily upon his neck.

IV. During this same time Aemilianus[2] in Egypt took the imperial power, and seizing the granaries he overcame many towns by the pressure of hunger. However, Theodotus, Gallienus' general, after fighting a battle captured him, and stripping him of his emperor's trappings sent him alive to Gallienus. After this Egypt was assigned to Theodotus. As for Aemilianus, he was strangled in prison, while the soldiers of Thebes were cruelly punished and many were put to death.

Now while Gallienus, continuing in luxury and debauchery, gave himself up to amusements and revelling and administered the commonwealth like a boy who plays at holding power, the Gauls, by nature unable to endure princes who are frivolous and given over to luxury and have fallen below the standard of

ferre non posse, Postumum ad imperium vocarunt,
exercitibus quoque[1] consentientibus, quod occupatum
4 imperatorem libidinibus querebantur. contra hunc
ipse Gallienus exercitum *duxit ; cumque* urbem, *in qua*
erat Postumus, *obsidere* coepisset, *acriter eam defen-*
dentibus[2] Gallis, Gallienus muros circumiens sagitta
5 ictus est. nam per annos septem Postumus imperavit
et Gallias ab omnibus circumfluentibus barbaris validis-
6 sime vindicavit. his coactus malis Gallienus pacem
eum Aureolo facit oppugnandi Postumi studio longo-
que bello tracto per diversas obsidiones ac proelia rem
7 modo feliciter modo infeliciter gerit. accesserat prae-
terea his malis,[3] quod Scythae Bithyniam invaserant
8 civitatesque deleverant. denique Astacum,[4] quae
Nicomedia postea dicta est, incensam graviter vasta-
9 verunt. denique quasi coniuratione totius mundi
concussis orbis partibus etiam in Sicilia quasi quoddam
servile bellum exstitit latronibus evagantibus, qui vix
V. oppressi sunt. et haec omnia Gallieni contemptu
fiebant. neque enim quicquam est ad audaciam malis,
ad spem bonorum bonis promptius, quam cum vel
malus timetur vel[5] dissolutus contemnitur imperator.

[1] *quoque* Peter; *qui* P. [2] So Salm. to fill lacunae in P.
[3] *malis* Σ, Peter; *magis* P. [4] *Astacum* Egnatius, Peter[1]; *contum* P. [5] *uel* Σ, Peter; om. in P.

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[1] On the revolt of Postumus, see *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. and notes.
[2] But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 4.
[3] But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 1. In fact, Aureolus was entrusted, during Gallienus' absence, with the conduct of the war against Postumus, but he did not push the campaign very vigorously; see Zonaras, xii. 24.
[4] Gallienus seems to have been called away in the course of the war, but he returned to it later on; see c. vii. 1. The cause of the interruption may have been the raid of the

Roman valour, called Postumus to the imperial power;[1] and the armies, too, joined with them, for they complained of an emperor who was busied with his lusts. Thereupon Gallienus himself led his army against him, and when he began to besiege the city in which Postumus was, the Gauls defended it bravely, and Gallienus, as he went around the walls, was struck by an arrow. So for seven years[2] Postumus held his power and with the greatest vigour protected the regions of Gaul from all the barbarians surging about. Forced by this evil plight, Gallienus made peace with Aureolus[3] in his desire to fight with Postumus, and, as the war dragged on to great length amid various sieges and battles, he conducted the campaign, now with good success and again with ill.[4] These evils had been further increased by the fact that the Scythians[5] had invaded Bithynia and destroyed its cities. Finally they set fire to Astacus, later called Nicomedia, and plundered it cruelly. Last of all, when all parts of the Empire were thrown into commotion, as though by a conspiracy of the whole world, there arose in Sicily also a sort of slave-revolt, for bandits roved about and were put down only with great difficulty. V. All these things were done out of contempt for Gallienus, for there is nothing so quick to inspire evil men to daring and good men to the hope of good things as an evil emperor who is feared or a depraved one who is despised.

Alamanni, who about this time invaded northern Italy as far as Ravenna, but were defeated by Gallienus at Milan; see Zonaras, xii. 24.

[5] Throughout these biographies the term Scythian is often used for Goth, as had been done regularly by Dexippus. This invasion of Bithynia seems to have taken place in 258.

Gallieno et Fausiano[1] consulibus inter tot bellicas clades etiam terrae motus gravissimus fuit et tenebrae per multos dies[2]; auditum praeterea tonitruum terra mugiente, non Iove tonante. quo motu multae fabricae devoratae sunt cum habitatoribus, multi terrore emortui; quod quidem malum tristius in Asiae urbibus fuit. mota est et Roma, mota et Libya. hiatus terrae plurimis in locis fuerunt, cum aqua salsa in fossis appareret. maria etiam multas urbes occuparunt. pax igitur deum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae libris, factumque Iovi Salutari, ut praeceptum fuerat, sacrificium. nam et pestilentia tanta exstiterat vel Romae vel in Achaicis urbibus, ut uno die quinque milia hominum pari morbo perirent.

Saeviente fortuna, cum hinc terrae motus, inde hiatus soli, ex diversis partibus pestilentia orbem Romanam vastaret, capto Valeriano, Gallis parte maxima obsessis, cum bellum Odaenathus inferret, cum Aureolus perurgueret Illyricum,[3] cum Aemilianus Aegyptum occupasset, Gothor*um pars*[4] . . ., quo*d nomen, ut*[5] dictum est superius, Gothis inditum est, occupatis Thraciis, Macedoniam vastaverunt, Thessalonicam obsederunt, neque usquam quies mediocriter

[1] *Fausiano* from *C.I.L.* xiv. 5357; *Faustiano* P.
[2] *dies* om. in P. [3] *Illyricum* ins. by Salm.; lacuna in P.
[4] So Hohl; *gothoridodius* P corr., *Σ*; *Gothori Clodius* Peter.
[5] So Jordan; *a quo dictum* P.

[1] Salutaris is included by Cicero (*de Finibus*, iii. 66) among the cognomina of Jupiter, and dedicatory inscriptions to Iovi Optimo Maximo Salutari have been found at Rome.

[2] It had previously raged in the East and wrought great havoc among the troops of Valerian; see Zosimus, i. 36. For a vivid description of its ravages in Egypt, see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 22.

[3] The Goths invaded Macedonia and besieged Thessalonica

In the consulship of Gallienus and Fausianus, 26
amid so many calamities of war, there was also a terrible earthquake and a darkness for many days. There was heard, besides, the sound of thunder, not like Jupiter thundering, but as though the earth were roaring. And by the earthquake many structures were swallowed up together with their inhahitants, and many men died of fright. This disaster, indeed, was worst in the cities of Asia; but Rome, too, was shaken and Libya also was shaken. In many places the earth yawned open, and salt water appeared in the fissures. Many cities were even overwhelmed by the sea. Therefore the favour of the gods was sought by consulting the Sibylline Books, and, according to their command, sacrifices were made to Jupiter Salutaris.[1] For so great a pestilence,[2] too, had arisen in both Rome and the cities of Achaea that in one single day five thousand men died of the same disease.

While Fortune thus raged, and while here earthquakes, there clefts in the ground, and in divers places pestilence, devastated the Roman world, while Valerian was held in captivity and the provinces of Gaul were, for the most part, beset, while Odaenathus was threatening war, Aureolus pressing hard on Illyricum, and Aemilianus in possession of Egypt, a portion of the Goths . . . which name, as has previously been related, was given to the Goths, having seized Thrace and plundered Macedonia, laid siege to Thessalonica,[3] and nowhere was hope of peace held out,

in 253 or 254 (Zosimus, i. 29, 2), but, if the chronological order is reliable, this would seem to be a later incursion, in 262, in the course of which they were driven back by Marcianus; see c. vi. 1—unless, as is not improbable, this notice belongs to the invasion of 267, described in c. xiii. 6 f.

7 saltem[1] ostentata[2] est. quae omnia contemptu, ut saepius diximus, Gallieni fiebant, hominis luxuriosissimi et, si esset securus, ad omne dedecus paratissimi.

VI. Pugnatum est in Achaia Marciano duce contra eosdem Gothos, unde victi per Achaeos recesserunt. 2 Scythae autem, hoc est pars Gothorum, Asiam vastabant. etiam templum Lunae Ephesiae despoliatum et incensum est, cuius operis fama satis nota per[3] populos. 3 pudet prodere inter haec tempora, cum ista gererentur, quae saepe Gallienus malo generis humani quasi 4 per iocum dixerit. nam cum ei nuntiatum esset Aegyptum descivisse, dixisse fertur: "Quid? sine 5 lino Aegyptio esse non possumus!" cum autem vastatam Asiam et elementorum concussionibus et Scytharum incursionibus comperisset, "Quid," inquit, 6 "sine aphronitris esse non possumus!" perdita Gallia risisse ac dixisse perhibetur: "Num sine Atrebaticis 7 sagis tuta res publica est?" sic denique de omnibus partibus mundi, cum eas amitteret,[4] quasi detrimentis 8 vilium ministeriorum videretur affici, iocabatur. ac ne quid mali deesset Gallieni temporibus, Byzantiorum civitas, clara navalibus bellis, claustrum Ponticum, per eiusdem Gallieni milites ita omnis vastata est, ut pror- 9 sus nemo superesset. denique nulla vetus familia

[1] *saltem* Ellis, Hohl; *salutem* P, Σ, Peter[2]. [2] So Salm., Peter[1], Hohl; *ostentare* P, Σ. [3] So Petschenig, Hohl; *ope fama satis nota populos* P. [4] *amitteret* Σ; *mitteret* P.

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[1] See note to c. v. 6; on Marcianus' later victory see c. xiii. 10 and Zosimus, i. 40, 1.

[2] *i.e.*, the famous temple of Artemis; this invasion (mentioned also in c. vii. 3) was in 263.

[3] The Atrebates lived in northern Gaul, around the modern Arras, later famous for its tapestry, but the centre of the industry in antiquity seems to have been Turnacum (Tournai).

even to a slight degree. All these things, as I have frequently said, were done out of contempt for Gallienus, a man given over to luxury and ever ready, did he feel free from danger, for any disgraceful deed.

VI. Against these same Goths a battle was fought in Achaea under the leadership of Marcianus,[1] and being defeated they withdrew from there through the country of the Achaeans. The Scythians—they are a portion of the Goths—devastated Asia and even plundered and burned the Temple of the Moon at Ephesus,[2] the fame of which building is known through all nations. I am ashamed to relate what Gallienus used often to say at this time, when such things were happening, as though jesting amid the ills of mankind. For when he was told of the revolt of Egypt, he is said to have exclaimed "What! We cannot do without Egyptian linen!" and when informed that Asia had been devastated both by the violence of nature and by the inroads of the Scythians, he said, "What! We cannot do without saltpetre!" and when Gaul was lost, he is reported to have laughed and remarked, "Can the commonwealth be safe without Atrebatic[3] cloaks?" Thus, in short, with regard to all parts of the world, as he lost them, he would jest, as though seeming to have suffered the loss of some article of trifling service. And finally, that no disaster might be lacking to his times, the city of Byzantium, famed for its naval wars and the key to the Pontus, was destroyed by the soldiers of Gallienus himself so completely, that not a single soul survived.[4] In fact, no ancient family can now be

[4] The cause of this outbreak is unknown; on the punishment inflicted, see c. vii. 2.

apud Byzantios invenitur, nisi si aliquis peregrinatione vel militia occupatus evasit, qui antiquitatem generis nobilitatemque repraesentet.

VII. Contra Postumum igitur Gallienus cum Aureolo et Claudio duce, qui postea imperium obtinuit, principe generis Constantii Caesaris nostri, bellum iniit. et cum [1] multis auxiliis Postumus iuvaretur Celticis atque Francicis, in bellum cum Victorino processit, cum quo imperium participaverat. victrix Gallieni pars fuit
2 pluribus proeliis eventuum variatione [2] decursis. erat in Gallieno subitae virtutis audacia, nam aliquando iniuriis graviter movebatur. denique ad vindictam Byzantiorum processit. et cum non putaret recipi se posse muris, receptus alia die omnes milites inermes armatorum corona circumdatos interemit, fracto foe-
3 dere quod promiserat. per eadem tempora etiam Scythae in Asia Romanorum ducum virtute ac ductu vastati ad propria recesserunt.

4 Interfectis sane militibus apud Byzantium Gallienus, quasi magnum aliquid gessisset, Romam cursu rapido convolavit convocatisque patribus decennia celebravit novo genere ludorum, nova specie pomparum, ex-
VIII. quisito genere voluptatum. iam primum inter togatos patres et equestrem ordinem albato milite [3] et omni populo praeeunte, servis etiam prope omnium et

[1] So Gruter and Peter; *incitet cum* P. [2] *uariatione* Cas.; *ratione* P, Σ. [3] *albato milite* Baehrens, Peter [2]; *albatos milites* P.

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[1] See c. iv. 6 and note.

[2] See *Claud.*, xiii. 2 and note. [3] See *Tyr. Trig.*, vi.

[4] The Decennalia were celebrated in the autumn of 262, at the beginning of the tenth year after Gallienus' joint accession with Valerian; the festival was commemorated by an issue of

found among the Byzantines, unless some member, engaged in travel or warfare, escaped to perpetuate the antiquity and noble descent of his stock.

VII. Gallienus, then, entered into war against Postumus,[1] having with him Aureolus and the general Claudius, afterwards emperor and the head of the family of Constantius our Caesar.[2] And Postumus, too, with many auxiliary troops of Celts and Franks advanced to the fight, in company with Victorinus,[3] with whom he had shared the imperial power. After several battles had been fought with varying outcome, the side of Gallienus was finally victorious. In fact, Gallienus had the boldness of suddenly aroused valour, for at times he was violently stirred by affronts. Then finally he went forth to avenge the wrongs of the Byzantines. And whereas he had no expectation of being received within the walls, he was admitted next day, and then, after placing a ring of armed men around the disarmed soldiers, contrary to the agreement he had made he caused them all to be slain. During this time, too, the Scythians in Asia were routed by the courage and skill of the Roman generals and retired to their own abode.

Now Gallienus, after the slaughter of the soldiers at Byzantium, as though he had performed some mighty feat, hastened to Rome in a rapid march, convened the senators, and celebrated a decennial festival with new kinds of spectacles, new varieties of parades, and the most elaborate sort of amusements.[4] VIII. First of all, he repaired to the Capitol with the senators and the equestrian order dressed in their togas and with the soldiers dressed all in white, and

coins with the legends *Votis Decennalibus* and *Votis X et XX*; see *Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 138, nos. 92-96.

mulieribus cum cereis facibus et lampadis praece-
2 dentibus Capitolium petiit. praecesserunt etiam
altrinsecus centeni albi boves cornuis auro iugatis et
3 dorsualibus sericis discoloribus praefulgentes; agnae
candentes ab utraque parte ducentae praecesserunt et
decem elephanti, qui tunc erant Romae, mille ducenti
gladiatores pompabiliter ornati cum auratis vestibus
matronarum, mansuetae ferae diversi generis ducentae
ornatu quam maximo affectae, carpenta cum mimis et
omni genere histrionum, pugiles flacculis non veritate
pugillantes. Cyclopea etiam luserunt omnes apinarii,
ita ut miranda quaedam et stupenda monstrarent.
4 omnes viae ludis strepituque et plausibus personabant.
5 ipse medius cum picta toga et tunica palmata inter
patres, ut diximus, omnibus sacerdotibus praetextatis
6 Capitolium petiit. hastae auratae altrinsecus quin-
genae, vexilla centena praeter ea quae collegiorum
erant, dracones et signa templorum omniumque
7 legionum ibant. ibant praeterea gentes simulatae, ut

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[1] *flacculi* occurs only here, but it may perhaps be the same as the ἱμάντες οἱ μαλακώτεροι in use at Elis in Pausanias' time (see Paus., vi. 23, 3), or the oldest type of the boxing-straps, the untanned μειλίχαι, contrasted in Paus., viii. 40, 3 with the harder ἱμὰς ὀξύς, a development of which was the metal-studded cestus.

[2] Apina, supposed to have been the name of a town in Apulia (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 104), seems to have been used, in the plural, like *tricae*, to denote trifles; it is applied thus to literary work of a light nature (*nugae*) by Martial, i. 113, 2; xiv. 1, 7. Hence the adjective may be supposed to mean "buffoons."

[3] The Cyclops Polyphemus seems in the Hellenistic period to have become a figure in low farcical comedy, perhaps somewhat as represented in the burlesque in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 290 f., both as the lover of Galatea and as a comic

with all the populace going ahead, while the slaves of almost all and the women preceded them, bearing waxen flambeaux and torches. There preceded them, too, on each side one hundred white oxen, having their horns bound with golden cords and resplendent in many-coloured silken covers; also two hundred lambs of glistening white went ahead on each side, besides ten elephants, which were then in Rome, and twelve hundred gladiators decked with all pomp, and matrons in golden cloaks, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds, tricked out with the greatest splendour, and waggons bearing pantomimists and actors of every sort, and boxers who fought, not in genuine combat, but with the softer straps.[1] All the buffoons[2] also acted a Cyclops-performance,[3] giving exhibitions that were marvellous and astonishing. So all the streets resounded with merry-making and shouts and applause, and in the midst the Emperor himself, wearing the triumphal toga and the tunic embroidered with palms, and accompanied, as I have said, by the senators and with all the priests dressed in bordered togas, proceeded to the Capitol. On each side of him were borne five hundred gilded spears and one hundred banners, besides those which belonged to the corporations, and the flags of auxiliaries and the statues from the sanctuaries[4] and the standards of all the legions. There marched, furthermore, men dressed to represent foreign nations, as

drunkard. In this latter capacity especially he appeared in the Roman mimes (see Horace, *Sat.*, i. 5, 64, and *Epist.*, ii. 2. 125), and the Cyclopea mentioned here and in *Car.*, xix. 3, probably consisted of comic dancing or, possibly, comic feats of strength.

[4] *i.e.*, those in the camps of the legions, as also in Herodian, iv. 4, 8.

Gothi, Sarmatae, Franci, Persae, ita ut non minus quam duceni globis singulis ducerentur.

IX. Hac pompa homo ineptus eludere se credidit populum Romanum, sed, ut sunt Romanorum facetiae, alius Postumo favebat, alius Regaliano, alius Aureolo aut Aemiliano, alius Saturnino, nam et ipse iam im-
2 perare dicebatur. inter haec ingens querella de patre, quem inultum filius liquerat, et quem externi utcumque
3 vindicaverant. nec tamen Gallienus ad talia movebatur obstupefacto voluptatibus corde, sed ab iis qui circum eum erant requirebat: "Ecquid habemus in prandio? ecquae voluptates paratae sunt? et qualis
4 cras erit scaena qualesque circenses?" sic confecto itinere celebratisque hecatombis ad domum regiam rediit conviviisque et epulis decursis[1] alios dies
5 voluptatibus publicis deputabat. praetereundum non est haud ignobile facetiarum genus. nam cum grex[2] Persarum quasi captivorum per pompam (rem ridiculam) duceretur, quidam scurrae miscuerunt se Persis, diligentissime scrutantes omnia atque uniuscuiusque
6 vultum mira inhiatione rimantes.[3] a quibus cum quaereretur quidnam agerent[4] illa sollertia, illi re-
7 sponderunt: "Patrem principis quaerimus." quod cum ad Gallienum pervenisset, non pudore, non maerore, non pietate commotus est scurrasque iussit
8 vivos exuri. quod populus factum tristius, quam quisquam aestimet, tulit, milites vero ita doluerunt ut non multo post vicem redderent.

[1] *decursis* Eyssenhardt, Petschenig, Hohl; *depulsis* P, Peter. [2] *rex* P. [3] *rimantes* Ellis, Walter, Damsté; *mirantes* P, Peter. [4] *agerent* Jordan; *ageret* P, Peter.

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[1] See *Tyr. Trig.*, x. [2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiii.
[3] *i.e.*, Odaenathus; see c. x. 1-3.

Goths and Sarmatians, Franks and Persians, and no fewer than two hundred paraded in a single group.

IX. By this procession the foolish man thought to delude the people of Rome; nevertheless—for such is the Romans' love of a jest—one man kept supporting Postumus, another Regalianus,[1] another Aureolus or Aemilianus, and another Saturninus[2]—for he, too, was now said to be ruling. Amid all this there was loud lamentation for the father whom the son had left unavenged and for whom foreigners had tried, in one way or another, to exact a vengeance.[3] Gallienus, however, was moved to no such deed, for his heart was dulled by pleasure, but he merely kept asking of those about him, "Have we anything planned for luncheon? Have any amusements been arranged? What manner of play will there be to-morrow and what manner of circus-games?" So, having finished the procession, he offered hecatombs and returned to the royal residence, and then, the banquets and feastings having come to an end, he appointed further days for the public amusements. One well-known instance of jesting, however, must not be omitted. As a band of Persians, supposed to be captives, was being led along in the procession (such an absurdity!), certain wits mingled with them and most carefully scrutinized all, examining with open-mouthed astonishment the features of every one; and when asked what they meant by that sagacious investigation, they replied, "We are searching for the Emperor's father." When this incident was reported to Gallienus, unmoved by shame or grief or filial affection, he ordered the wits to be burned alive—a measure which angered the people more than anyone would suppose, but so grieved the soldiers that not much later they requited the deed.

X. Gallieno et Saturnino consulibus Odaenathus rex Palmyrenorum obtinuit totius orientis imperium, idcirco praecipue quod se fortibus factis dignum tantae maiestatis infulis declaravit, Gallieno aut nullas aut
2 luxuriosas aut ineptas et ridiculas res agente. denique statim bellum Persis in vindictam Valeriani, quam
3 eius filius neglegebat, indixit. Nisibin et Carrhas statim occupat tradentibus sese Nisibenis atque Car-
4 rhenis et increpantibus Gallienum. nec defuit tamen reverentia Odaenathi circa Gallienum. nam captos satrapas insultandi prope gratia et ostentandi sui ad
5 eum misit. qui cum Romam deducti essent, vincente Odaenatho triumphavit Gallienus nulla mentione patris facta, quem ne inter deos quidem nisi coactus rettulit, cum mortuum audisset, sed adhuc viventem,
6 nam de illius morte falso compererat. Odaenathus autem ad Ctesiphontem Parthorum multitudinem obsedit vastatisque circum omnibus locis innumeros
7 homines interemit. sed cum satrapae omnes ex omnibus regionibus illuc defensionis communis gratia convolassent, fuerunt longa et varia proelia, longior
8 tamen Romana victoria. et cum nihil aliud ageret nisi ut Valerianum Odaenathus liberaret, instabat cottidie, at[1] locorum difficultatibus in alieno solo imperator optimus laborabat.

[1] *at* Cas., Peter; *ac* P, Hohl.

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[1] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 1 and note.

[2] As a matter of fact, he was acting as the general of Gallienus and under his command.

[3] Coins of 264, celebrating this triumph, show Gallienus in a four-horse chariot; see Matt.-Syd. v. pp. 166-167, nos. 412-413. The cognomina Persicus Maximus and Parthicus Maximus are found in papyri and inscriptions.

X. In the consulship of Gallienus and Saturninus 264
Odaenathus, king of the Palmyrenes, held the rule over the entire East[1]—chiefly for the reason that by his brave deeds he had shown himself worthy of the insignia of such great majesty, whereas Gallienus was doing nothing at all or else only what was extravagant, or foolish and deserving of ridicule. Now at once he proclaimed a war on the Persians to exact for Valerian the vengeance neglected by Valerian's son. He immediately occupied Nisibis and Carrhae, the people of which surrendered, reviling Gallienus. Nevertheless, Odaenathus showed no lack of respect toward Gallienus, for he sent him the satraps he captured—though, as it seemed, merely for the purpose of insulting him and displaying his own prowess.[2] After these had been brought to Rome, Gallienus held a triumph because of Odaenathus' victory;[3] but he still made no mention of his father and did not even place him among the gods, when he heard he was dead, until compelled to do so[4]—although in fact Valerian was still alive, for the news of his death was untrue. Odaenathus, besides, besieged an army of Parthians at Ctesiphon and devastated all the country round about, killing men without number. But when all the satraps from all the outlying regions flocked together to Ctesiphon for the purpose of common defence, there were long-lasting battles with varying results, but more long-lasting still was the success of the Romans. Moreover, since Odaenathus' sole purpose was to set Valerian free, he daily pressed onward, but this best of commanders, now on a foreign soil, suffered greatly because of the difficult ground.

[4] There is no other evidence of Valerian's consecration.

XI. Dum haec apud Persas geruntur, Scythae in Cappadociam pervaserunt. illic captis civitatibus bello etiam vario diu acto se[1] ad Bithyniam contulerunt. 2 quare milites iterum de novo imperatore faciendo cogitarunt. quos omnes Gallienus more suo, cum placare atque ad gratiam suam reducere non posset, occidit.

3 Cum tamen sibi milites dignum principem quaererent, Gallienus apud Athenas archon erat, id est summus magistratus, vanitate illa, qua et civis adscribi de- 4 siderabat et sacris omnibus interesse. quod neque Hadrianus in summa felicitate neque Antoninus in adulta fecerat pace, cum tanto studio Graecarum docti[2] sint litterarum ut raro aliquibus doctissimis 5 magnorum arbitrio cesserint virorum. Areopagitarum praeterea cupiebat ingeri numero contempta prope re 6 publica. fuit enim Gallienus, quod negari non potest, oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus. 7 huius illud est epithalamion, quod inter centum poetas praecipuum fuit. nam cum fratrum suorum filios iungeret, et omnes poetae Graeci Latinique epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos, ille, cum

[1] *acto se* Salm.; *actos* P. [2] *docti* P, Σ; *ducti* Baehrens, Peter, Hohl.

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[1] This invasion of Cappadocia is mentioned in Zosimus, i. 28, 1, as in the year 252 or 253, whereas it actually took place in 264.

XI. While these events were happening among the Persians, the Scythians made their way into Cappadocia.[1] After capturing many cities there and waging war for a long time with varying success, they betook themselves to Bithynia. Wherefore the soldiers again considered the choosing of a new emperor; but since he could not placate them or win their support, Gallienus, after his usual fashion, put all of them to death.

Just, however, when the soldiers were looking for a worthy prince, Gallienus was holding the office of archon—chief magistrate, that is—at Athens, showing that same vanity which also made him desire to be enrolled among its citizens and even take part in all its sacred rites—which not even Hadrian had done at the height of his prosperity or Antoninus during a long-established peace,[2] and these emperors, too, were schooled by so much study of Greek letters that in the judgement of great men they were scarcely inferior to the most learned scholars. He desired, furthermore, to be included among the members of the Areopagus, almost as though he despised public affairs. For indeed it cannot be denied that Gallienus won fame in oratory, poetry, and all the arts. His, too, is the epithalamium which had the chief place among a hundred poets. For, when he was joining in marriage the children of his brothers, and all the poets, both Greek and Latin, had recited their epithalamia, and that for very many days, Gallienus, holding the hands of the bridal pair,

[2] Hadrian had been archon at Athens, but before his accession to power (see *Hadr.*, xix. 1), and both he and Marcus Aurelius were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries (*Hadr.*, xiii. 1; *Marc.*, xxvii. 1).

manus sponsorum teneret, ut quidam dicunt, saepius[1] ita dixisse fertur:

8 Ite, agite,[2] o pueri, pariter sudate medullis
omnibus inter vos, non murmura vestra columbae,
brachia non hederae, non vincant oscula conchae.

9 longum est eius versus orationesque conectere, quibus suo tempore tam inter[3] poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit. sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur.

XII. Laudatur sane eius optimum factum. nam consulatu[4] Valeriani fratris sui et Lucilli propinqui, ubi comperit ab Odaenatho Persas vastatos, redactam Nisibin et Carrhas in potestatem Romanam, omnem Mesopotamiam nostram, denique Ctesiphontem esse perventum, fugisse regem, captos satrapas, plurimos Persarum occisos, Odaenathum participato imperio Augustum vocavit eiusque monetam, qua Persas captos traheret, cudi iussit. quod et senatus et urbs et omnis aetas gratanter accepit.

2 Fuit praeterea idem ingeniosissimus, cuius osten-
3 dendi acuminis[5] scilicet pauca libet ponere: nam cum taurum ingentem in arenam misisset, exissetque ad eum feriendum venator[6] neque productum decies

[1] *saepius* Cas., Hohl; *sceptus* P; σκωπτικῶς Oberdick, Peter[2]. [2] *ait* P. [3] *in* P. [4] *consulatu* Czwalina, Peter[2]; *consulta* P, Σ. [5] *ostendendi acuminis* Madvig, Hohl; *ostendentia cum in his* P. [6] *uector* P.

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[1] Found also in the lost "Codex Bellovacensis" of Binetus (Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, i. 2, p. 176, no. 711 = Baehrens, *P.L.M.*, iv. pp. 103-104) with the addition of two more lines: "Ludite: sed vigiles nolite extinguere lychnos. | Omnia nocte vident, nil cras meminere lucernae."

so it is reported, is said to have recited repeatedly the following verses:

"Come now, my children, grow heated together in deep-seated passion,
Never, indeed, may the doves outdo your billings and cooings,
Never the ivy your arms, or the clinging of sea-shells your kisses." [1]

It would be too long a task to collect all his verses and speeches, which made him illustrious among both the poets and the rhetoricians of his own time. But it is one thing that is desired in an emperor, and another that is demanded of an orator or a poet.

XII. One excellent deed of his, to be sure, is mentioned with praise. For in the consulship of his 265
brother Valerian and his kinsman Lucillus, when he learned that Odaenathus had ravaged the Persians, brought Nisibis and Carrhae under the sway of Rome, made all of Mesopotamia ours, and finally arrived at Ctesiphon, put the king to flight, captured the satraps and killed large numbers of Persians, he gave him a share in the imperial power, conferred on him the name Augustus,[2] and ordered coins to be struck in his honour, which showed him haling the Persians into captivity. This measure the senate, the city, and men of every age received with approval.

Gallienus, furthermore, was exceedingly clever, and I wish to relate a few actions of his in order to show his wit. Once, when a huge bull was led into the arena, and a huntsman came forth to fight him but was unable to slay the bull though it was brought out

[2] This is incorrect; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 1.

potuisset occidere, coronam venatori misit, mussantibusque cunctis, quid rei esset quod homo ineptissimus coronaretur, ille per curionem dici iussit: "Taurum totiens non ferire difficile est". idem, cum quidam gemmas vitreas pro veris [1] vendidisset eius uxori, atque illa re prodita vindicari vellet, subripi quasi ad leonem venditorem iussit, deinde e cavea caponem emitti, mirantibusque cunctis rem tam ridiculam per curionem dici iussit: "Imposturam fecit et passus est". deinde negotiatorem dimisit.

6 Occupato tamen Odaenatho bello Persico, Gallieno rebus ineptissimis, ut solebat, incubante Scythae navibus factis Heracleam pervenerunt atque inde cum praeda in solum proprium reverterunt, quamvis multi naufragio perierint navalive [2] bello superati sint.

XIII. Per idem tempus Odaenathus insidiis consobrini sui interemptus est cum filio Herode, quem et ipsum imperatorem appellaverat. tum [3] Zenobia, uxor eius, quod parvuli essent filii eius qui supererant, Herennianus et Timolaus, ipsa suscepit imperium diuque rexit non muliebriter neque more femineo, sed non solum Gallieno, quo quaeque [4] virgo melius imperare potuisset, verum etiam multis imperatoribus fortius atque sollertius. Gallienus sane, ubi ei nuntiatum Odaenathum interemptum, bellum Persis ad seram nimis vindictam patris paravit collectisque per

[1] *ueras pro uitreis* P, *Σ*. [2] *ue* ins. by Bitschofsky; om. in P; *nauali . . . . sint* del. by Peter. [3] *cum* P. [4] *quo quaeque* Peter[2]; *quoque* P; *quo quae* Hohl.

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[1] Mod. Benderegli on the northern coast of Bithynia; this seems to have been in 266.

[2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xv. 5; xvii. [3] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xvi.

ten times, he sent the huntsman a garland, and when all the crowd wondered what it might mean that so foolish a fellow should be crowned with a garland, he bade a herald announce: "It is a difficult thing to miss a bull so many times." On another occasion, when a certain man sold his wife glass jewels instead of real, and she, discovering the fraud, wished the man to be punished, he ordered the seller to be haled off, as though to a lion, and then had them let out from the cage a capon, and when all were amazed at so absurd a proceeding, he bade the herald proclaim: "He practised deceit and then had it practised on him." Then he let the dealer go home.

But while Odaenathus was busied with the war against the Persians and Gallienus was devoting himself to most foolish pursuits, as was his custom, the Scythians built ships and advanced upon Heraclea,[1] and thence they returned with booty to their native land, although many were lost by shipwreck or defeated in a naval engagement.

XIII. About this same time Odaenathus was treacherously slain by his cousin,[2] and with him his son Herodes,[3] whom also he had hailed as emperor. Then Zenobia, his wife, since the sons who remained, Herennianus and Timolaus,[4] were still very young, assumed the power herself and ruled for a long time,[5] not in feminine fashion or with the ways ot a woman, but surpassing in courage and skill not merely Gallienus, than whom any girl could have ruled more successfully, but also many an emperor. As for Gallienus, indeed, when he learned that Odaenathus was murdered, he made ready for war with the Persians—

[4] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxvii-xxviii. [5] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx.

Heraclianum ducem militibus sollertis principis rem
5 gerebat. qui tamen Heraclianus, cum contra Persas profectus esset, a Palmyrenis victus omnes quos paraverat milites perdidit, Zenobia Palmyrenis et orientalibus plerisque viriliter imperante.

6 Inter haec Scythae per Euxinum navigantes Histrum ingressi multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt. quibus compertis Gallienus Cleodamum et Athenaeum Byzantios instaurandis urbibus muniendisque praefecit, pugnatumque est circa Pontum, et a Byzantiis ducibus
7 victi sunt barbari. Veneriano item duce navali bello Gothi superati sunt, cum ipse Venerianus militari
8 periit morte. atque inde Cyzicum et Asiam, deinceps Achaiam omnem vastaverunt et ab Atheniensibus duce Dexippo, scriptore horum temporum, victi sunt. unde pulsi per Epirum, Macedoniam, Boeotiam pervagati
9 sunt. Gallienus interea vix excitatus publicis malis Gothis vagantibus per Illyricum occurrit et fortuito plurimos interemit. quo comperto Scythae facta carragine per montem Gessacem fugere sunt conati.

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[1] If this is true, it means a breaking of the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between Rome and Palmyra—perhaps an attempt to put an end to the unusual powers held by Zenobia—but we have no other evidence of it. Odaenathus was killed sometime in 266-67, and in the summer of 268 Heraclianus was with Gallienus at Milan; see c. xiv. 1.

[2] This was the great invasion of the Eruli, a Germanic tribe, in 267. Setting forth with 500 ships from the Sea of Azov, they sailed into the mouth of the Danube. Gallienus, engaged in the war against Postumus, deputed the various generals here mentioned to deal with them, but despite their efforts the invaders overran Greece, even as far as the Peloponnese. They were defeated by Dexippus in an attempt to take Athens on their return northward, and again by

an over-tardy vengeance for his father—and, gathering an army with the help of the general Heraclianus, he played the part of a skilful prince. This Heraclianus, however, on setting out against the Persians, was defeated by the Palmyrenes and lost all the troops he had gathered,[1] for Zenobia was ruling Palmyra and most of the East with the vigour of a man.

Meanwhile the Scythians sailed across the Black Sea and, entering the Danube, did much damage on Roman soil.[2] Learning of this, Gallienus deputed Cleodamus and Athenaeus the Byzantines to repair and fortify the cities, and a battle was fought near the Black Sea, in which the barbarians were conquered by the Byzantine leaders. The Goths were also defeated in a naval battle by the general Venerianus, though Venerianus himself died a soldier's death. Then the Goths ravaged Cyzicus and Asia and then all of Achaea, but were vanquished by the Athenians under the command of Dexippus, an historian of these times.[3] Driven thence, they roved through Epirus, Macedonia and Boeotia. Gallienus, meanwhile, roused at last by the public ills, met the Goths as they roved about in Illyricum, and, as it chanced, killed a great number. Learning of this, the Scythians, after making a barricade of wagons, attempted to escape by way of Mount Gessaces.[4] Then Marcianus made war on all the Scythians with varying

Gallienus himself (who had left the war against Postumus and hurried to meet them) in a battle on the river Nestos, the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. For a fuller account see Syncellus, p. 717.

[2] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

[4] Unknown; perhaps Mt. Rhodope in Thrace.

10 omnes inde Scythas Marcianus varia bellorum fortuna
. . . . . quae omnes Scythas ad rebellionem excitarunt.
XIV. Et haec quidem Heracliani ducis erga rem
publicam devotio fuit. verum cum Gallieni tantam
improbitatem ferre non possent, consilium inierunt
Marcianus et Heraclianus, ut alter eorum imperium
2 caperet.....et Claudius quidem, ut suo dicemus
loco, vir omnium optimus, electus est, qui consilio
non adfuerat, eaque apud cunctos reverentia, ut iuste
dignus videretur imperio, quemadmodum postea com-
3 probatum est. is enim et Claudius, a quo Constantius,
4 vigilissimus Caesar, originem ducit. fuit iisdem socius
in appetendo imperio quidam Ceronius sive Cecropius,
dux Dalmatarum, qui eos et urbanissime et prudentis-
5 sime adiuvit. sed cum imperium capere vivo Gallieno
non possent, huius modi eum insidiis adpetendum
esse duxerunt, ut labem improbissimam malis fessa re
publica a gubernaculis humani generis dimoverent,
ne diutius theatro et circo addicta res publica per
6 voluptatum deperiret inlecebras. insidiarum genus
fuit tale: Gallienus ab Aureolo, qui principatum
invaserat, dissidebat, sperans cottidie gravem et in-
7 tolerabilem tumultuarii imperatoris adventum. hoc

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[1] Gallienus, summoned home by the revolt of Aureolus (see note to c. xiv. 1), left Marcianus (cf. c. vi. 1) and Claudius (cf. *Claud.*, vi. 1) to complete the victory and hurried to northern Italy.

[2] According to the more complete accounts in Zosimus, i. 40 and Zonaras, xii. 25, Gallienus defeated Aureolus (at Pons Aureolus = Pontirolo, Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 18) and shut him up in Milan. There a conspiracy was made against Gallienus, which included Claudius and Aurelian as well as Heraclianus, the prefect of the guard. Later, an attempt was made to show that Claudius had nothing to do with it, as here and in *Claud.*, i. 3, and a scene was even invented in which Gallienus

success,[1] . . . . . which measures roused all the Scythians to rebellion.

XIV. Such, in fact, was the devotion of the general Heraclianus to the commonwealth. But being unable to endure further all the iniquities of Gallienus, Marcianus and Heraclianus formed a plan that one of them should take the imperial power[2]. . . . . And Claudius, in fact, was chosen, the best man of all, as we shall narrate in the proper place. He had had no part in their plan, but was held by all in such respect that he seemed worthy of the imperial power, and justly so, as was proved by later events. For he is that Claudius from whom Constantius, our most watchful Caesar, derives his descent.[3] These men had also as their comrade in seeking the power a certain Ceronius, or rather Cecropius, commander of the Dalmatians, who aided them with the greatest shrewdness and wisdom. But being unable to seize the power while Gallienus was still alive, they decided to proceed against him by a plot of the following nature, purposing, now that the state was exhausted by disasters, to remove this most evil blot from the governance of the human race and to save the commonwealth, now given over to the theatre and circus, from going to destruction through the allurements of pleasure. Now the nature of their plot was as follows: Gallienus was at enmity with Aureolus, who had seized upon the position of prince, and was daily expecting the coming of this usurping ruler—a serious and, indeed, an unendurable thing. Being aware of this, Marcianus and

on his deathbed was represented as bestowing the imperial insignia on Claudius; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 28; *Epit.*, 34, 2. The evidence of papyri places the murder in July or August, 268.

[3] See *Claud.*, xiii. 2 and note.

scientes Marcianus et Cecropius subito Gallieno ius-
8 serant nuntiari Aureolum iam venire. ille igitur militi-
bus cogitatis quasi certum processit ad proelium atque
9 ita missis percussoribus interemptus est. et quidem
Cecropii Dalmatarum ducis telo[1] Gallienus dicitur
esse percussus, ut quidam ferunt, circa Mediolanum,
ubi continuo et frater eius Valerianus est interemptus,
quem multi Augustum, multi Caesarem, multi neutrum
10 fuisse dicunt. quod veri simile non est, si quidem
capto iam Valeriano scriptum invenimus in fastis:
"Valeriano imperatore consule." quis igitur alius
11 potuit esse Valerianus nisi Gallieni frater? constat
de genere, non satis tamen constat de dignitate vel,
ut coeperunt alii loqui, de maiestate.

XV. Occiso igitur Gallieno seditio ingens militum
fuit, cum spe praedae ac publicae vastationis impera-
torem sibi utilem, necessarium, fortem, efficacem ad
2 invidiam faciendam dicerent raptum. quare consilium
principum fuit, ut milites eius quo solent placari genere
sedarentur. promissis itaque per Marcianum aureis
vicenis et acceptis (nam praesto erat thesaurorum
copia) Gallienum tyrannum militari iudicio in fastos
3 publicos rettulerunt. sic militibus sedatis Claudius,

[1] *telo* Peter[2]; om. in P.

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[1] He was consul (for the second time) in 265; cf. c. xii. 1. He is mentioned in literature only here and in *Val.*, viii., where also he is said to have received the title of Augustus. However, no coins can be definitely proved to be his (see Matt.-Syd. v. p. 28), and in the lack of any evidence it may be seriously doubted that he was either Augustus or Caesar. The "inscription" cited in *Val.*, viii. 3 is of equally little value with that quoted in c. xix. 4.

[2] This, if true, had no legal significance, for a *damnatio* could be pronounced only by the senate. According to Aur.

Cecropius suddenly caused word to be sent to Gallienus that Aureolus was now approaching. He, therefore, mustered his soldiers and went forth as though to certain battle, and so was slain by the murderers sent for the purpose. It is reported, indeed, that Gallienus was pierced by the spear of Cecropius, the Dalmatian commander, some say near Milan, where also his brother Valerian was at once put to death. This man, many say, had the title of Augustus, and many, that of Caesar, and many, again, neither one—which, indeed, is not probable, for we have found written in the official lists, after Valerian had been taken prisoner, "During the consulship of Valerian the Emperor." So who else, pray, could this Valerian have been but the brother of Gallienus?[1] There is general agreement concerning his family, but not concerning his rank or, as others have begun to say, concerning his imperial majesty.

XV. Now after Gallienus was slain, there was a great mutiny among the soldiers, for, hoping for booty and public plunder, they maintained, in order to arouse hatred, that they had been robbed of an emperor who had been useful and indispensable to them, courageous and competent. Wherefore the leaders took counsel how to placate Gallienus' soldiers by the usual means of winning their favour. So, through the agency of Marcianus, twenty aurei were promised to each and accepted (for there was on hand a ready supply of treasure), and then by verdict of the soldiers they placed the name of Gallienus in the public records as a usurper.[2] The soldiers thus

Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 31-34, the senate and people gave general vent to their hostility. Nevertheless, Claudius ordered that he should be deified in the usual manner.

vir sanctus ac iure venerabilis et bonis omnibus carus, amicus patriae, amicus legibus, acceptus senatui, populo bene cognitus accepit imperium.

XVI. Haec vita Gallieni fuit, breviter a me litteris intimata, qui natus abdomini et voluptatibus dies ac noctes vino et stupris perdidit, orbem terrarum viginti [1] prope per [2] tyrannos vastari fecit, ita ut etiam
2 mulieres illo melius imperarent. ac ne eius praeterea-atur miseranda sollertia, veris tempore cubicula de rosis fecit. de pomis castella composuit. uvas triennio servavit. hieme summa melones exhibuit. mustum quemadmodum toto anno haberetur docuit. ficos virides et poma ex arboribus recentia semper alienis
3 mensibus praebuit. mantelibus aureis semper stravit.
4 gemmata vasa fecit eademque aurea. crinibus suis auri scobem aspersit. radiatus saepe processit. cum chlamyde purpurea gemmatisque fibulis et aureis Romae visus est, ubi semper togati principes videbantur. purpuream tunicam auratamque virilem eandemque manicatam habuit. gemmato balteo usus est. corrigias [3] gemmeas adnexuit, cum campagos
5 reticulos appellaret. convivatus in publico est. con-
6 giariis populum mollivit. senatui sportulam sedens

[1] *uiginti* P, Σ, Hohl ; *triginta* Salm., Peter. [2] *per* om. in P. [3] *corrigias* Mommsen, Hohl ; *caligias* P ; *caligas* Σ, Peter.

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[1] The manuscript reading *viginti* here and also in c. xix. 6 and xxi. 1 seems to show that the author's original plan was to include twenty pretenders, not thirty, in the work now called *Tyranni Triginta ;* see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, *i.* 1 and Peter, *Die S. H. A.*, p. 37 f.

[2] A crown surrounded by projecting rays, originally regarded as the emblem of a deified emperor, but apparently worn by

quieted, Claudius, a venerated man and justly respected, dear to all good men, a friend to his native land, a friend to the laws, acceptable to the senate, and favourably known to the people, received the imperial power.

XVI. Such was the life of Gallienus, which I have briefly described in writing, who, born for his belly and his pleasures, wasted his days and nights in wine and debauchery and caused the world to be laid waste by pretenders about twenty in number,[1] so that even women ruled better than he. He, forsooth,—in order that his pitiable skill may not be left unmentioned—used in the spring-time to make sleeping-places of roses. He built castles of apples, preserved grapes for three years, and served melons in the depth of winter. He showed how new wine could be had all through the year. He always served out of season green figs and apples fresh from the trees. He always spread his tables with golden covers. He made jewelled vessels, and golden ones too. He sprinkled his hair with gold-dust. He went out in public adorned with the radiate crown,[2] and at Rome—where the emperors always appeared in the toga—he appeared in a purple cloak with jewelled and golden clasps. He wore a man's tunic of purple and gold and provided with sleeves. He used a jewelled sword-belt and he fastened jewels to his boot-laces and then called his boots "reticulate."[3] He used, moreover, to banquet in public. He won the people's favour by largesses, and he distributed, seated, portions of food to the

[1] the rulers of the third century, for it is regularly shown on their coins.

[2] *i.e.*, like the network caps worn by women and effeminate men (cf. *Heliog.*, xi. 7).

erogavit. matronas ad consilium[1] suum rogavit iisdemque manum sibi osculantibus quaternos aureos sui
XVII. nominis dedit. ubi de Valeriano patre comperit quod captus esset, id quod philosophorum optimus de filio amisso dixisse fertur, "Sciebam me genuisse mortalem," ille sic dixit[2]: "Sciebam patrem meum esse mortalem."

2 Nec defuit Annius Cornicula, qui eum quasi constantem principem falso[3] sua voce laudaret. peior
3 tamen ille qui credidit.[4] saepe ad tibicinem processit, ad organum se recepit, cum processui et recessui cani
4 iuberet. lavit ad diem septimo aestate vel sexto,
5 hieme secundo vel tertio. bibit in aureis semper poculis aspernatus[5] vitrum, ita ut[6] diceret nil esse
6 communius. semper vina variavit neque umquam
7 in uno convivio ex uno vino duo pocula bibit. concubinae in eius tricliniis saepe accubuerunt. mensam secundam scurrarum et mimorum semper prope habuit.
8 cum iret ad hortos nominis sui, omnia Palatina officia sequebantur. ibant et praefecti et magistri officiorum omnium adhibebanturque conviviis et natationibus[7]
9 lavabant simul cum principe. admittebantur saepe etiam mulieres, cum ipso pulchrae puellae, cum illis anus deformes. et iocari se dicebat, cum orbem

[1] *consulatum* P. [2] So Peter; *mortalem, nec defuit an ille se dixit* P; *nec defuit.....mortalem* del. by Hohl. [3] *falsu* P. [4] *peior.....credidit* om. in Σ and del. by Hohl. [5] *natus* P. [6] *ita ut* Σ, Hohl; om. in P; *cum* Salm., Peter. [7] *natationibus* Σ, Peter,[2] Hohl; *nationibus* P.

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[1] This is attributed to Anaxagoras by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, iii. 30 and 58, by Valerius Maximus, v. 10, *Ext.* 3, and by Plutarch, *de Cohib. Ira* 16 and *de Tranq. An.* 16., and to Xenophon by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 6, 55. It was paraphrased

senate. He invited matrons into his council, and to those who kissed his hand he presented four aureī bearing his own name. XVII. When he learned that his father Valerian was captured, just as that best of philosophers, it is said, exclaimed on the loss of his son, "I knew that I had begotten a mortal,[1] so he exclaimed, "I knew that my father was mortal."

There has even been an Annius Cornicula[2] to raise his voice in praise of Gallienus as a steadfast prince, but untruthfully. However, he who believes him is even more perverse. Gallienus often went forth to the sound of the pipes and returned to the sound of the organ, ordering music to be played for his going forth and his returning. In summer he would bathe six or seven times in the day, and in the winter twice or thrice. He always drank out of golden cups, for he scorned glass, declaring that there was nothing more common. His wines he continually changed, and at a banquet he never drank two cups of the same wine. His concubines frequently reclined in his dining-halls, and he always had near at hand a second table for the jesters and actors. Whenever he went to the gardens named after him, all the staff of the Palace followed him. And there went with him, too, the prefects and the chiefs of all the staffs, and they were invited to his banquets and bathed in the pools along with the prince. Women, too, were often sent in, beautiful girls with the emperor, but with the others ugly old hags. And he used to say that he was making merry, whereas he had brought

by Ennius in his *Telamon* frg. 312 Vahlen (quoted by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, iii. 28), from whom it was taken by Seneca, *Cons. ad Polyb.*, 11, 2.

[2] Otherwise unknown.

XVIII. terrarum undique perdidisset. fuit tamen nimiae crudelitatis in milites; nam et terna milia et quaterna militum singulis diebus occidit.

2 Statuam sibi maiorem Colosso fieri praecepit Solis habitu, sed ea imperfecta periit. tam magna denique coeperat fieri, ut duplex ad Colossum videre-
3 tur. poni autem illam voluerat in summo Esquiliarum monte, ita ut hastam teneret, per cuius scapum[1]
4 infans ad summum posset ascendere. sed et Claudio et Aureliano deinceps stulta res visa est, si quidem etiam equos et currum fieri iusserat pro qualitate
5 statuae atque in altissima[2] base poni. porticum Flaminiam usque ad Pontem Mulvium et ipse paraverat ducere, ita ut tetrastichae fierent, ut autem alii dicunt, pentastichae, ita ut primus ordo pilas haberet et ante se columnas cum statuis, secundus et tertius et deinceps διὰ τεσσάρων columnas.

6 Longum est[3] eius cuncta in litteras mittere, quae qui volet scire legat Palfurium Suram, qui ephemeridas eius vitae composuit. nos ad Saloninum revertamur.

[1] *scapum* Scaliger; *caput* P, *Σ*. [2] *altissima* Haupt, Peter[2]; *actussima* P[1]. [3] *est Σ*; om. in P.

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[1] But see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, ix. 3.
[2] See note to *Hadr.*, xix. 12.

the world on all sides to ruin. XVIII. But the soldiers he treated with excessive cruelty,[1] killing as many as three or four thousand of them in a single day.

He gave orders to make a statue of himself arrayed as the Sun and greater than the Colossus,[2] but it was destroyed while still unfinished. It was, in fact, begun on so large a scale that it seemed to be double the size of the Colossus. His wish was that it should be placed on the summit of the Esquiline Hill, holding a spear, up the shaft of which a child could climb to the top. The plan, however, seemed foolish to Claudius and after him to Aurelian, especially as he had ordered a chariot and horses to be made in proportion to the size of the statue and set up on a very high base. He planned to construct a Flaminian portico[3] extending as far as the Mulvian Bridge, and having columns in rows of four or, as some say, in rows of five, so that the first row should contain pillars with columns bearing statues in front of them, while the second and third and the rest should have columns in lines of four.

It would be too long to set down in writing all that he did, and if anyone wishes to know these things, he may read Palfurius Sura,[4] who composed a journal of his life. Let us now turn to Saloninus.

[3] *i.e.*, extending along the Via Flaminia northward from the Porta del Popolo.

[4] Otherwise unknown.

SALONINUS GALLIENUS

XIX. Hic Gallieni filius fuit, nepos Valeriani, de quo quidem prope [1] nihil est dignum quod [2] in litteras mittatur, nisi quod nobiliter natus, educatus regie, 2 occisus deinde non sua sed patris causa. de huius nomine magna est ambiguitas. nam multi eum Gallienum, multi Saloninum historiae prodiderunt. 3 et qui Saloninum, idcirco quod apud Salonas natus esset, cognominatum ferunt; qui autem Gallienum, patris nomine cognominatum et avi Gallieni, summi 4 quondam in re publica viri. fuit denique hactenus statua in pede Montis Romulei, hoc est ante Sacram Viam, inter [3] Templum Faustinae ac Vestam [4] ad Arcum Fabianum, quae haberet inscriptum "Gallieno iuniori" "Salonino" additum. ex quo eius nomen intellegi poterit.

5 Transisse decennium imperii Gallienum satis clarum est. quod idcirco addidi, quia multi eum 6 imperii sui anno nono [5] perisse dixerunt. fuisse autem et alios rebelliones sub eodem proprio dicemus loco, si quidem placuit viginti [6] tyrannos uno

[1] *quidem prope* Kellerbauer, Peter [2]; *quippe* P. [2] *quod dignum* P, Σ. [3] *inter* Mommsen, Peter [2]; *intra* P, Σ. [4] *ac Vestam* Jordan, Peter [2]; *aduentam* P, Σ. [5] *nono* om. in P and Σ. [6] *uiginti* P, Σ, Hohl; *triginta* Peter; but see c. xvi. 1.

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[1] He was the younger of the two sons of Gallienus, and the correct form of his name is shown by inscriptions and coins to have been P. Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus. He received the title of Caesar after the death of his older brother, Valerian, in 258. Since the Alexandrian coins bearing his name cease with the year 260-61, it is generally inferred that he died in this year; but he may be the son

SALONINUS GALLIENUS

XIX. He was the son of Gallienus[1] and the grandson of Valerian, and concerning him there is scarcely anything worth setting down in writing, save that he was nobly born, royally reared, and then killed, not on his own account but his father's. With regard to his name there is great uncertainty, for many have recorded that it was Gallienus and many Saloninus. Those who call him Saloninus declare that he was so named because he was born at Salonae;[2] and those who call him Gallienus say that he was named after his father and Gallienus' grandfather, who once was a very great man in the state. As a matter of fact, a statue of him has remained to the present time at the foot of the Hill of Romulus,[3] in front of the Sacred Way, that is, between the Temple of Faustina and the Temple of Vesta near the Fabian Arch, which bears the inscription "To Gallienus the Younger" with the addition of "Saloninus," and from this his name can be learned.[4]

It is well enough known that the rule of Gallienus exceeded ten years.[5] This statement I have added for the reason that many have said that he was killed in the ninth year of his rule. There were, moreover, other rebels during his reign, as we shall relate in

who, according to Zonaras, xii. 26, was killed by the senate after the death of Gallienus.

[2] On the Dalmatian coast. This derivation is nonsense, for his name was taken from that of his mother Cornelia Salonina, as is correctly stated in c. xxi. 3.

[3] The Palatine Hill.

[4] Since there is no evidence whatsoever that he bore the name Gallienus, this "inscription," like that in *Val.*, viii. 3, may be regarded as one of the author's fabrications.

[5] See c. xxi. 5 and note.

volumine includere, idcirco quod nec multa de his dici possunt, et in Gallieni vita pleraque iam dicta sunt.

7 Et haec quidem de Gallieno hoc interim libro dixisse sufficiet. nam et multa iam in Valeriani vita dicta sunt, alia[1] in libro qui de triginta tyrannis inscribendus est iam loquemur, quae iterari ac saepius 8 dici minus utile videbatur. huc accedit quod quaedam etiam studiose praetermisi, ne eius posteri multis XX. rebus editis laederentur. scis enim ipse tales[2] homines cum iis qui aliqua de maioribus eorum scripserint quantum gerant bellum, nec ignota esse arbitror quae dixit Marcus Tullius in Hortensio, quem ad ex- 2 emplum Protreptici scripsit. unum tamen ponam, quod iucunditatem quandam sed vulgarem habuit, 3 morem tamen novum fecit. nam cum cingula sua plerique militantium, qui ad convivium venerant, ponerent hora convivii, Saloninus puer sive Gallienus his auratos costilatosque balteos rapuisse perhibetur, et, cum esset difficile in aula Palatina requirere quod perisset, ac taciti ex militibus[3] viri detrimenta pertulissent, postea rogati ad convivium cincti adcubuerunt. 4 cumque ab his quaereretur, cur non solverent cingulum, respondisse dicuntur, "Salonino deferimus," atque hinc tractum morem, ut deinceps cum impera- 5 tore cincti discumberent. negare non possum aliunde

[1] *dicta sunt alia* ins. by Peter; om. in P. [2] *tales* Cas., Peter; *quales* P, Hohl. [3] *taciti ex militibus* Salm., Peter[1]; *tacitis militibus* P, Σ; *tacitis uultibus* Haupt, Peter[2], Hohl.

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[1] See note to c. xvi. 1.

[2] A lost work, written in 45 B.C.

[3] Aristotle's Προτρεπτικός, now lost, an exhortation to the study of philosophy.

the proper place; for it is our purpose to include twenty pretenders[1] in one single book, since there is not much to be told about them, and many things have already been said in the Life of Gallienus.

It will suffice, meanwhile, to have told in this book these facts concerning Gallienus; for much has already been said in the Life of Valerian, and other things shall be told in the book which is to be entitled "Concerning the Thirty Pretenders," and these it seems useless to repeat here and relate too often. It must also be added that I have even omitted some facts on purpose, lest his descendants should be offended by the publication of many details XX. For you know yourself what a feud such men maintain with those who have written certain things concerning their ancestors, and I think that you are acquainted with what Marcus Tullius said in his *Hortensius*,[2] written in imitation of the *Protrepticus*.[3] One incident, however, I will include, which caused a certain amount of amusement, albeit of a commonplace kind, and yet brought about a new custom. For since most military men, on coming to a banquet, laid aside their sword-belts when the banquet began, the boy Saloninus (or Gallienus), it is related, once stole these belts studded with gold and adorned with rows of jewels, and since it was difficult to search in the Palace for anything that had disappeared, these military men bore their losses in silence, but when afterwards they were bidden to a banquet, they reclined at table with their sword-belts on. And when asked why they did not lay aside their belts, they replied, it is said, "We are wearing them for Saloninus." And this gave rise to the custom that always thereafter they should dine with the emperor

plerisque videri huius rei ortum esse morem ; dicunt militare prandium, quod dictum est parandium ab eo quod ad bellum milites paret, a cinctis initum ; cui rei argumentum est quod a discinctis etiam cum imperatore cenatur. quae idcirco posui, quia digna et memoratu videbantur et cognitu.

XXI. Nunc transeamus ad viginti,[1] tyrannos, qui[2] Gallieni temporibus contemptu mali principis exstiterunt. de quibus breviter et pauca dicenda sunt.
2 neque enim digni sunt eorum plerique, ut volumen talium hominum saltem nominibus occupetur,[3] quamvis aliqui non parum in se virtutis habuisse videantur, multum etiam rei publicae profuisse.
3 Tam variae item opiniones sunt de Salonini nomine, ut qui se verius putet dicere, a matre sua Salonina appellatum esse dicat,[4] quam is[5] perdite dilexit. et dilexit[6] Piparam nomine barbaram regis filiam.
4 quare[7] Gallienus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit.
5 De annis autem Gallieni et Valeriani ad imperium pertinentibus adeo incerta traduntur, ut, cum quindecim annos eosdem imperasse constet, id est

[1] *uiginti* P, Hohl ; *triginta* Peter ; but see c. xvi. 1. [2] *qui* P corr., Σ, Hohl ; om. in P[1] ; *Gallieni . . . exstiterunt* del. by Peter. [3] *occupetur* Kellerbauer, Hohl ; *occuparetur* P, Σ, Peter. [4] *dicat* Salm., Jordan ; om. in P ; lacuna assumed by Peter and Hohl. [5] *quam is* Salm., Peter[1] ; *quamuis* P, Peter[2], Hohl. [6] *et dilexit* ins. by Editor ; lacuna in P assumed by Peter and Hohl. [7] *quare* ins. by Editor.

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[1] See note to c. xvi. 1.

[2] Cornelia Salonina Augusta. Her name and head appear on many coins.

[3] Pipa, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 6 and *Epit.*, 33, 1. Her father was a German (Marcomannic) king, with whom Gallienus made a treaty ceding part of Pannonia—perhaps in return for aid against Germanic invaders.

belted. I cannot, indeed, deny that many believe this custom had a different origin; for, they say, at the soldiers' ration (*prandium*)—which they called a "preparration" (*parandium*) because it prepares them for fighting—men come in wearing belts, and the proof of this statement is that with the emperor men still dine unbelted. These details I have given because they seemed worthy of being related and known.

XXI. Now let us pass on to the twenty pretenders,[1] who arose in the time of Gallienus because of contempt for the evil prince. With regard to them I need tell but a few things and briefly; for most of them are not worthy of having even their names put into a book, although some of them seem to have had no little merit and even to have been of much benefit to the state.

Various, indeed, are the opinions concerning the name of Saloninus, but the author who believes he speaks most truthfully declares that he was named from his mother Salonina,[2] whom Gallienus loved to distraction. He loved also a barbarian maid, Pipara by name,[3] the daughter of a king. And for this reason Gallienus, moreover, and those about him always dyed their hair yellow.

With regard to the number of years through which the rule of Gallienus and Valerian extended, such varied statements are made that, whereas all agree that together they ruled for fifteen years,[4] that is,

[4] 253-268. Since Valerian ceased to rule not later than 260, the "almost ten years" is, of course, an error, evidently due to the celebration of the Decennalia (see c. vii. 4 f.) in 262, at the beginning of the tenth year after Gallienus' joint accession with his father.

Gallienus usque ad quintum decimum pervenisset, Valerianus vero sexto sit captus, alii novem annis, vix [1] decem alii etiam Gallienum imperasse in litteras mittant, cum constet et decennalia Romae ab eodem celebrata et post decennalia Gothos ab eo victos, cum Odaenatho pacem factam, cum Aureolo initam esse concordiam, pugnatum contra Postumum, contra Lollianum, multa etiam ab eo gesta, quae ad virtutem,
6 plura tamen quae ad dedecus pertinebant. nam et semper noctibus popinas dicitur frequentasse et cum lenonibus, mimis scurrisque vixisse.

[1] *uix* Peter; *bis* P.

that Gallienus himself attained to his fifteenth year, while Valerian was captured in his sixth, some have set down in writing that Gallienus ruled for nine years, and others, again, that it was almost ten—while, on the other hand, it is generally known that he celebrated a decennial festival at Rome, and that after this festival he defeated the Goths, made peace with Odaenathus, entered into friendly relations with Aureolus,[1] warred against Postumus and against Lollianus,[2] and did many things that mark a virtuous life, but more that tend to dishonour. For he used to frequent public-houses at night, it is said, and spent his life with pimps and actors and jesters.

[1] See c. ii. 6 and note. [2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, v.

TYRANNI TRIGINTA

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I. Scriptis iam pluribus libris non historico nec diserto sed pedestri adloquio, ad eam temporum venimus seriem, in qua per annos, quibus Gallienus et Valerianus rem publicam tenuerunt, triginta tyranni occupato Valeriano magnis belli Persici necessitatibus exstiterunt, cum Gallienum non solum viri sed etiam mulieres contemptui haberent, ut suis
2 locis probabitur. sed quoniam tanta obscuritas eorum hominum fuit, qui ex diversis orbis partibus ad imperium convolabant, ut non multa de iis vel dici possint a doctioribus vel requiri, deinde ab omnibus

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[1] The collection actually contains 32 names, of which the last two form a sort of appendix containing two men admittedly not of the time of Gallienus. The author's original plan, according to *Gall.*, xvi. 1; xix. 6; xxi. 1, was to include 20, but as Peter has pointed out (*Abh. Sächs. Ges.*, xxvii. p. 190 f.), this number was raised to that of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens by padding with ten additional names. If we take from the list the names of the two women and the six youths who never held the imperial power, the list is reduced to 22. Of these it may be definitely asserted of Cyriades, Odaenathus, Maeonius and Ballista that they never assumed the purple,

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

BY

TREBELLIUS POLLIO

I. After having written many books in the style of neither an historian nor a scholar but only that of a layman, we have now reached the series of years in which the thirty pretenders [1] arose—the years when the Empire was ruled by Gallienus and Valerian, when Valerian was busied with the great demands of the Persian War and Gallienus, as will be shown in the proper place, was held in contempt not only by men but by women as well. But since so obscure were these men, who flocked in from divers parts of the world to seize the imperial power, that not much concerning them can be either related by scholars or demanded of them, and since all those historians who have written

and the same may be said with almost equal certainty of Valens, Piso and Aemilianus. Saturninus, Trebellianus and Celsus may be regarded as inventions of the author. Of the twelve remaining names, Valens "Superior" was of the time of Decius and Victorinus and Tetricus of the time of Claudius and Aurelian. The list, then, of the authentic pretenders under Gallienus reduces itself to nine, viz., Postumus (258-268), Laelianus, Marius, Ingenuus (258), Regalianus (258?), Aureolus (268), and Macrianus and his two sons (260-261).

historicis, qui Graece ac Latine scripserunt, ita nonnulli praetereantur ut eorum nec[1] nomina frequententur, postremo cum tam varie a plerisque super iis nonnulla sint prodita, in unum eos libellum contuli et quidem brevem, maxime cum vel in Valeriani vel in Gallieni vita pleraque de iis dicta nec repetenda tamen satis constet.

CYRIADES

II. Hic patrem Cyriadem fugiens, dives et nobilis, cum luxuria sua et moribus perditis sanctum senem gravaret, direpta magna parte auri, argenti etiam in-
2 finito pondere Persas petiit. atque inde Sapori regi coniunctus atque sociatus, cum hortator belli Romanis inferendi fuisset, Odomastem primum, deinde Saporem ad Romanum solum traxit; Antiochia etiam
3 capta et Caesarea Caesareanum nomen meruit. atque inde vocatus Augustus, cum omnem orientem vel virium vel audaciae terrore quateret, patrem vero interemisset (quod alii historici negant factum), ipse per insidias suorum, cum Valerianus iam ad bellum
4 Persicum veniret, occisus est. neque plus de hoc historiae quicquam mandatum est quod dignum memoratu esse videatur, quem clarum perfugium et

[1] *nec* ins. by Erasmus; om. in P.

[1] To be identified with the adventurer Mareades, or Mariades, a native of Antioch in Syria, who, after being banished from his native city for embezzling public funds, brought over into Syria the army of Sapor, which captured and plundered Antioch. He was later put to death by Sapor; see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 3 and Malalas, xii. p. 295 f. There is no reason to suppose that he was ever proclaimed Caesar or Augustus.

in Greek or in Latin have passed over some of them without dwelling even on their names, and, finally, since certain details related about them by many have varied so widely, I have therefore gathered them all into a single book, and that a short one, especially as it is evident that much concerning them has already been told in the Lives of Valerian and Gallienus and need not be repeated here.

CYRIADES

II. This man,[1] rich and well born, fled from his father Cyriades when, by his excesses and profligate ways, he had become a burden to the righteous old man, and after robbing him of a great part of his gold and an enormous amount of silver he departed to the Persians. Thereupon he joined King Sapor and became his ally, and after urging him to make war on the Romans, he brought first Odomastes[2] and then Sapor himself into the Roman dominions; and also by capturing Antioch and Caesarea[3] he won for himself the name of Caesar. Then, when he had been hailed Augustus, after he had caused all the Orient to tremble in terror at his strength or his daring, and when, moreover, he had slain his father (which some historians deny), he himself, at the time that Valerian was on his way to the Persian War, was put to death by the treachery of his followers. Nor has anything more that seems worthy of mention been committed to history about this man, who has obtained a place

[2] Perhaps an error for Oromastes (Hormizd), Sapor's son and successor.

[3] Mod. Kaisariyeh in Cappadocia, taken by Sapor after the capture of Valerian.

parricidium et aspera tyrannis et[1] summa luxuria litteris dederunt.

POSTUMUS

III. Hic vir in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo ut Saloninum filium suum eidem Gallienus in Gallia positum crederet, quasi custodi vitae et morum et actuum imperi-
2 alium institutori. sed, quantum plerique adserunt (quod eius non convenit moribus), postea fidem fregit
3 et occiso Salonino sumpsit imperium. ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, eum, qui commissum regebat imperium, imperatorem appellarunt missis-
4 que militibus adulescentem interfecerunt. quo interfecto ab omni exercitu et ab omnibus Gallis Postumus gratanter acceptus talem se praebuit per annos septem

[1] *et* Σ; *ex* P.

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[1] M. Cassianius Latinius Postumus Augustus; the name Iulius given to him in c. vi is accordingly incorrect, like practically all that is said of him in this *vita*; see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Provinces* (Eng. Trans.), i. pp. 178-179.

[2] After successful campaigns against the Germans he was left in command of the Rhine frontier by Gallienus when he departed to put down the revolt of Ingenuus (see c. ix.), but rivalry broke out between him and Silvanus (or Albanus), to whose care Gallienus had entrusted his son—perhaps as the nominal ruler of the West. In consequence of this rivalry Postumus seized Cologne and caused Silvanus and the prince to be put to death; see Zosimus, i. 38, 2 and Zonaras, xii. 24. Thereupon he declared himself emperor and, despite the efforts

in letters solely by reason of his famous flight, his act of parricide, his cruel tyranny, and his boundless excesses.

POSTUMUS

III. This man,[1] most valiant in war and most steadfast in peace, was so highly respected for his whole manner of life that he was even entrusted by Gallienus with the care of his son Saloninus (whom he had placed in command of Gaul), as the guardian of his life and conduct and his instructor in the duties of a ruler.[2] Nevertheless, as some writers assert—though it does not accord with his character—he afterwards broke faith and after slaying Saloninus[3] seized the imperial power. As others, however, have related with greater truth, the Gauls themselves, hating Gallienus most bitterly and being unwilling to endure a boy as their emperor, hailed as their ruler the man who was holding the rule in trust for another, and despatching soldiers they slew the boy. When he was slain, Postumus was gladly accepted by the entire army and by all the Gauls, and for seven

of Gallienus (see *Gall.*, iv. 4-5; vii. 1), remained practically independent ruler of Gaul until his death at Mainz in 268 or 269.

[3] The question of the date of Postumus' assumption of the imperial power is bound up with that of the name of this murdered prince, also given as Saloninus in Zosimus, i. 38, 2. Saloninus, however, Gallienus' younger son (cf. *Gall.*, xix. 1 and note) seems to have been alive as late as 260-261. Moreover, according to *Epit.*, 32, 3; 33, 1, it was the elder son (Valerian) who was put to death at Cologne; he is shown by the evidence of papyri to have died in 258. This accords with the evidence of c. ix. 1, that the revolt of Ingenuus was in 258.

ut Gallias instauraverit, cum Gallienus luxuriae et popinis vacaret et amore barbarae mulieris consenesceret.
5 gestum est tamen a Gallieno contra hunc bellum tunc,
6 cum sagitta Gallienus est vulneratus. si quidem nimius amor erga Postumum omnium erat in Gallicanorum mente [1] populorum, quod summotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus Romanum in pristinam securitatem re-
7 vocasset imperium. sed cum se gravissime gereret,[2] more illo, quo Galli novarum rerum semper sunt cupidi, Lolliano agente interemptus est.

8 Si quis sane Postumi meritum requirit, iudicium de eo Valeriani ex hac epistula, quam ille ad Gallos misit,
9 intelleget: "Transrhenani limitis [3] ducem et Galliae praesidem Postumum fecimus, virum dignissimum severitate Gallorum, praesente quo non miles in castris, non iura in foro, non in tribunalibus lites, non in curia dignitas pereat, qui unicuique proprium et suum servet, virum quem ego prae ceteris stupeo, et qui locum principis mereatur iure, de quo spero quod mihi gratias
10 agetis. quod si me fefellerit opinio quam de illo habeo, sciatis nusquam gentium reperiri qui possit
11 penitus adprobari. huius filio Postumo nomine tribunatum Vocontiorum dedi, adulescenti qui se dignum patris moribus reddet."

[1] *mente* Salm.; *gente* P, Σ. [2] *gereret* Baehrens, Peter; *regeret* P, Σ. [3] *milites* P, Σ.

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[1] So also *Gall.*, iv. 5. As a matter of fact he ruled for ten years, according to his coins with *trib. pot. X* (Cohen, vi.[2] p. 45, nos. 284-286) and Eutropius, ix. 10.
[2] See *Gall.*, xxi. 3. [3] Cf. *Gall.*, iv. 4.
[4] Cf. *Firm.*, vii. 1.

years[1] he performed such exploits that he completely restored the provinces of Gaul, while Gallienus spent his time in debauchery and taverns and grew weak in loving a barbarian woman.[2] Gallienus, however, was warring against him at that time when he himself was wounded by an arrow.[3] Great, indeed, was the love felt for Postumus in the hearts of all the people of Gaul because he had thrust back all the German tribes and had restored the Roman Empire to its former security. But when he began to conduct himself with the greatest sternness, the Gauls, following their custom of always desiring a change of government,[4] at the instigation of Lollianus put him to death.

If anyone, indeed, desires to know the merits of Postumus, he may learn Valerian's opinion concerning him from the following letter which he wrote to the Gauls: "As general in charge of the Rhine frontier and governor of Gaul we have named Postumus, a man most worthy of the stern discipline of the Gauls. He by his presence will safeguard the soldiers in the camp, civil rights in the forum, law-suits at the bar of judgement, and the dignity of the council-chamber, and he will preserve for each one his own personal possessions; he is a man at whom I marvel above all others and well deserving of the office of prince, and for him, I hope, you will render me thanks. If, however, I have erred in my judgement concerning him, you may rest assured that nowhere in the world will a man be found who can win complete approval. Upon his son, Postumus by name, a young man who will show himself worthy of his father's character, I have bestowed the tribuneship of the Vocontii."

POSTUMUS IUNIOR

IV. De hoc prope nihil est quod dicatur, nisi quod a patre appellatus Caesar ac deinceps in eius honore Augustus cum patre dicitur interemptus, cum Lollianus in locum Postumi subrogatus delatum sibi a
2 Gallis sumpsisset imperium. fuit autem (quod solum memoratu dignum est) ita in declamationibus disertus ut eius controversiae Quintiliano dicantur insertae, quem declamatorem Romani generis acutissimum vel unius capitis lectio prima statim fronte demonstrat.

LOLLIANUS

V. Huius rebellione in Gallia Postumus, vir omnium fortissimus, interemptus est, cum iam nutante Gallia [1] Gallieni luxuria in veterem statum Romanum formas-
2 set imperium. fuit quidem etiam iste fortissimus, sed rebellionis intuitu minorem apud Gallos auctoritatem
3 de suis viribus tenuit. interemptus autem est a Victorino, Vitruviae filio vel Victoriae, quae postea mater castrorum appellata est et Augustae nomine affecta, cum ipsa per se fugiens tanti ponderis molem primum in Marium, deinde in Tetricum atque eius

[1] *Gallia* ins. by Paucker, Peter,[2] Hohl; om. in P and Σ.

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[1] There is no other evidence of his participation in the imperial power or even of his existence.

[2] Presumably the extant collection of *Declamationes* (or *controversiae*, *i.e.* imaginary law-cases used in the schools of rhetoric) attributed to Quintilian, the famous author of the *Institutio Oratoria*, but probably not his work.

[3] The expression *prima statim fronte* is used in just this sense by Quintilian in *Inst. Orat.*, xii. 7, 8.

POSTUMUS THE YOUNGER

IV. Concerning this man [1] there is naught to relate save that after receiving the name of Caesar from his father and later, as a mark of honour to him, that of Augustus, he was killed, it is said, together with his father at the time when Lollianus, who was put in Postumus' place, took the imperial power offered to him by the Gauls. He was, moreover—and only this is worthy of mention—so skilled in rhetorical exercises that his *Controversies* are said to have been inserted among those of Quintilian,[2] who, as the reading of even a single chapter will show at the first glance,[3] was the sharpest rhetorician of the Roman race.

LOLLIANUS

V. In consequence of this man's [4] rebellion in Gaul, Postumus, the bravest of all men, was put to death after he had brought back the power of Rome into its ancient condition at the time when Gaul was on the brink of ruin because of Gallienus' excesses. Lollianus was, indeed, a very brave man, but in the face of rebellion his strength was insufficient to give him authority over the Gauls. He was killed, moreover, by Victorinus, son of Vitruvia, or rather Victoria,[5] who was later entitled Mother of the Camp and honoured by the name of Augusta, though she herself, doing her utmost to escape the weight of so great a burden,

[4] His correct name was C. Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] p. 66 f. He rebelled against Postumus and seized the imperial power at Mainz, but (despite the statements in §§ 1-4) he was defeated by Postumus; see Aurelius Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 8, and Eutropius, ix. 9.

[5] See c. xxxi.

4 filium contulisset imperia. et Lollianus quidem non nihilum rei publicae profuit. nam plerasque Galliae civitates, nonnulla etiam castra, quae[1] Postumus per septem annos in solo barbarico aedificaverat, quaeque interfecto Postumo subita inruptione Germanorum et direpta fuerant et incensa, in[2] statum veterem reformavit. deinde a suis militibus, quod in labore nimius esset, occisus est.

5 Ita Gallieno perdente rem publicam in Gallia primum Postumus, deinde Lollianus, Victorinus deinceps, postremo Tetricus, (nam de Mario nihil dicimus) ad-
6 sertores Romani nominis exstiterunt. quos omnes datos divinitus credo, ne, cum illa pestis inauditae luxuriae impediretur malis, possidendi Romanum so-
7 lum Germanis daretur facultas. qui si eo genere tunc evasissent quo Gothi et Persae, consentientibus in Romano solo gentibus venerabile hoc Romani
8 nominis finitum esset imperium. Lolliani autem vita in multis obscura est, ut et ipsius Postumi, sed privata; virtute enim clari, non nobilitatis pondere vixerunt.

VICTORINUS

VI. Postumus senior cum videret multis se Gallieni viribus peti atque auxilium non solum militum verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victo-

[1] *quae* Σ; om. in P. [2] *in* Σ; om. in P.

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[1] See c. xxiv.-xxv. [2] See note to c. iii. 4.

[3] M. Piavonius Victorinus Augustus, according to his inscriptions and coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 68-84. He served as general under Postumus, but the statement of the *vita* and of *Gall.*, vii. 1 that he was made co-ruler by Postumus is probably false, for, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 12 and Eutropius, ix. 9 he seems to have held the power after Marius (c. viii.) for

had bestowed the imperial power first on Marius and then on Tetricus together with his son.[1] Lollianus, in fact, did to some extent benefit the commonwealth; for many of the communes of Gaul and also some of the camps, built on barbarian soil by Postumus during his seven years,[2] but after his murder plundered and burned during an incursion of Germans, were restored by him to their ancient condition. Then he was slain by his soldiers because he exacted too much labour.

And so, while Gallienus was bringing ruin on the commonwealth, there arose in Gaul first Postumus, then Lollianus, next Victorinus, and finally Tetricus (for of Marius we will make no mention), all of them defenders of the renown of Rome. All of these, I believe, were given by gift of the gods, in order that, while that pestiferous fellow was caught in the toils of unheard-of excesses, no opportunity might be afforded the Germans for seizing Roman soil. For if they had broken forth then in the same manner as did the Goths and the Persians, these foreign nations, acting together in Roman territory, would have put an end to this venerable empire of the Roman nation. As for Lollianus, his life is obscure in many details, as is also that of Postumus, too—but only their private lives; for while they lived they were famed for their valour, not for their importance in rank.

VICTORINUS

VI. When the elder Postumus saw that Gallienus was marching against him with great forces, and that he needed the aid not only of soldiers but also of a second prince, he called Victorinus,[3] a man of soldierly

two years, apparently under Claudius (so *Epit.*, 34, 3) and so probably 270-271.

rinum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem contra Gallienum con-
2 flixit. cumque adhibitis ingentibus Germanorum
3 auxiliis diu bella traxissent, victi sunt. tunc interfecto etiam Lolliano solus Victorinus in imperio remansit, qui et ipse, quod matrimoniis militum et militarium corrumpendis operam daret, a quodam actuario, cuius uxorem stupraverat, composita factione Agrippinae percussus, Victorino filio Caesare a matre Vitruvia sive Victoria, quae mater castrorum dicta est, appellato, qui et ipse puerulus statim est interemptus, cum apud Agrippinam pater eius esset occisus.

4 De hoc, quod fortissimus fuerit et praeter libidinem
5 optimus imperator, a multis multa sunt dicta. sed satis credimus Iulii Atheriani partem libri cuiusdam
6 ponere, in quo de Victorino sic loquitur: "Victorino, qui Gallias post Iulium Postumum rexit, neminem aestimo praeferendum, non in virtute Traianum, non Antoninum in clementia, non in gravitate Nervam, non in gubernando aerario Vespasianum, non in censura totius vitae ac severitate militari Pertinacem
7 vel Severum. sed omnia haec libido et cupiditas mulierariae voluptatis sic perdidit ut nemo audeat virtutes eius in litteras mittere, quem constat omnium
8 iudicio meruisse puniri." ergo cum id iudicii de Victorino scriptores habuerint, satis mihi videor eius dixisse de moribus.

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[1] *i.e.*, Cologne. [2] See c. xxxi.
[3] Not otherwise known and probably an invention of the biographer's.
[4] See note to c. iii. 1.

energy, to a share in the imperial power, and in company with him he fought against Gallienus. Having summoned to their aid huge forces of Germans, they protracted the war for a long time, but at last they were conquered. Then, when Lollianus, too, had been slain, Victorinus alone remained in command. He also, because he devoted his time to seducing the wives of his soldiers and officers, was slain at Agrippina[1] through a conspiracy formed by a certain clerk, whose wife he had debauched; his mother Vitruvia, or rather Victoria,[2] who was later called Mother of the Camp, had given his son Victorinus the title of Caesar, but the boy, too, was immediately killed after his father was slain at Agrippina.

Concerning Victorinus, because he was most valiant and, save for his lustfulness, an excellent emperor, many details have been related by many writers. We, however, deem it sufficient to insert a portion of the book of a certain Julius Atherianus,[3] in which he writes of Victorinus as follows: "With regard to Victorinus, who ruled the provinces of Gaul after Julius[4] Postumus, I consider that no one should be given a higher place, not Trajan for his courage, or Antoninus for his kindness, or Nerva for his noble dignity, or Vespasian for his care of the treasury, or yet Pertinax or Severus for the strictness of their whole lives or the severity of their military discipline. All these qualities, however, were offset to such an extent by his lustfulness and his desire for the pleasures gotten from women that no one would dare to set forth in writing the virtues of one who, all are agreed, deserved to be punished." And so, since this is the judgement that writers have given concerning Victorinus, I consider that I have said enough regarding his character.

VICTORINUS IUNIOR

VII. De hoc nihil amplius in litteras est relatum, quam quod nepos Victoriae Victorini filius fuit et a patre vel ab avia sub eadem hora qua Victorinus interemptus Caesar est nuncupatus ac statim a militibus
2 ira occisus. exstant denique sepulchra circa Agrippinam, brevi marmore impressa humilia, in quibus titulus[1] est inscriptus: "Hic duo Victorini tyranni siti sunt."

MARIUS

VIII. Victorino, Lolliano et Postumo interemptis Marius ex fabro, ut dicitur, ferrario triduo tantum
2 imperavit. de hoc quid amplius requiratur ignoro, nisi quod eum insigniorem brevissimum fecit imperium. nam ut ille consul, qui sex meridianis horis consulatum suffectum tenuit, a Marco Tullio tali aspersus est ioco: "Consulem habuimus tam severum tamque censorium ut in eius magistratu nemo pranderit, nemo cenaverit, nemo dormiverit," de hoc etiam dici posse videatur, qui una die factus est imperator, alia die visus est imperare, tertia interemptus est.
3 Et vir quidem strenuus ac militaribus usque ad imperium gradibus evectus, quem plerique Mamurium,

[1] *titulus* Cas.; *unus* P, Σ.

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[1] The head of a son of Victorinus appears on a coin of the pretender (Cohen, vi.[2] p. 84), but the boy is included here, like Postumus Iunior in c. iv., merely for the purpose of increasing the number of the *Tyranni*.

[2] M. Aurelius Marius Augustus. He held the imperial power before Victorinus; see note to c. vi. 1. The length of his rule given here as three days (two days by Aurelius Victor and Eutropius) is certainly wrong, for the large number of his

VICTORINUS THE YOUNGER

VII. Concerning him[1] nothing has been put into writing save that he was the grandson of Victoria and the son of Victorinus and that he was entitled Caesar by his father or grandmother on the eve of his father's murder and was at once slain in anger by the soldiers. Their tombs, indeed, are still to be seen near Agrippina, humble monuments covered with common marble, and on them is carved the inscription, "Here lie the two Victorini, pretenders."

MARIUS

VIII. After Victorinus, Lollianus and Postumus were slain, Marius,[2] formerly a worker in iron, so it is said, held the imperial power, but only for three days. What more can be asked concerning him I know not, save that he was made more famous by the shortness of his rule. For, just as that consul[3] who held the office as substitute for six hours at midday was ridiculed by Cicero in the jest, "We have had a consul so stern and severe that during his term of office no one has breakfasted, no one has dined, and no one has slept," so the same, it would seem, can be said of Marius, who on the first day was made emperor, on the second seemed to rule, and on the third was slain.

He was, indeed, an active man and rose through the various grades of military service to the imperial

coins is sufficient evidence of a longer reign; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 87-89.

[3] C. Caninius Rebilus, consul on 31 Dec., 45 B.C. A jest of Cicero's concerning him, differing somewhat from the following quotation is contained in *Epist. ad Fam.*, vii. 30, 1.

nonnulli Veturium, opificem utpote ferrarium, nun-
4 cuparunt. sed de hoc nimis multa, de quo illud addidisse satis est, nullius manus vel ad feriendum vel ad impellendum [1] fortiores fuisse, cum in digitls
5 nervos videretur habuisse non venas. nam et carra venientia digito salutari reppulisse dicitur et fortissimos quosque uno digito sic adflixisse, ut quasi ligni vel ferri obtunsioris ictu percussi dolerent. multa
6 duorum digitorum allisione contrivit. occisus est a quodam milite, qui, cum eius quondam in fabrili officina fuisset, contemptus est ab eodem, vel cum dux
7 esset [2] vel cum imperium cepisset. addidisse verba [3] dicitur interemptor: "Hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti."

8 Huius contio prima talis fuisse dicitur: "Scio, commilitones, posse mihi obici artem pristinam, cuius
9 mihi omnes testes estis. sed dicat quisque quod vult, utinam ferrum semper exerceam, non vino, non floribus, non mulierculis, non popinis, ut facit Gallienus, indignus patre suo et sui generis nobilitate,
10 depeream. ars mihi obiciatur ferraria, dum me et exterae gentes ferrum tractasse suis cladibus re-
11 cognoscant. enitar [4] denique, ut omnis Alamannia omnisque Germania cum ceteris quae adiacent gentibus Romanum populum ferratam putent gentem, ut

[1] *impellendum* Σ; *implendum* P. [2] *dux esset* Cas., Eyssenhardt, Hohl; *duxisset* P corr., Peter. [3] *uerba* Editor; *uerbo* P, Σ; *uero* Salm., Peter. [4] *enitar* Petschenig, Hohl; *in Italia* P, Σ, foll. by lacuna Peter.

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[1] Mamurius Veturius was the legendary forger of the ancilia, the shields of the Salii; his name was inserted in

power itself—this one whom many called Mamurius and some Veturius,[1] because, forsooth, he was a worker in iron. But we have already said too much about this man, concerning whom it will be sufficient to add that there was no one whose hands were stronger, for either striking or thrusting, since he seemed to have not veins in his fingers, but sinews. For he is said to have thrust back on-coming waggons by means of his forefinger and with a single finger to have struck the strongest men so hard that they felt as much pain as though hit by a blow from wood or blunted iron; and he crushed many objects by the mere pressure of two of his fingers. He was slain by a soldier whom, because he had once been a worker in his smithy, he had treated with scorn either when he commanded troops or after he had taken the imperial power. His slayer is said to have added the words, "This is a sword which you yourself have forged."

His first public harangue, it is said, was as follows: "I know well, fellow-soldiers, that I can be taunted with my former trade, of which all of you are my witnesses. However, let anyone say what he wishes. As for me, may I always labour with steel rather than ruin myself with wine and garlands and harlots and gluttony, as does Gallienus, unworthy of his father and the noble rank of his house. Let men taunt me with working with steel as long as foreign nations shall know from their losses that I have handled the steel. In short, I will strive to the utmost that all Alamannia and Germany and the nations round about shall deem the Roman people a steel-clad folk, and

the Carmen Saliare as a reward for his labour; see Festus, p. 131 M.; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 383 f.

12 specialiter in nobis ferrum timeant. vos tamen cogitetis velim fecisse vos principem, qui numquam quic-
13 quam scierit tractare nisi ferrum. quod idcirco dico, quia scio mihi a luxuriosissima illa peste nihil opponi posse nisi hoc, quod gladiorum atque armorum artifex fuerim."

INGENUUS

IX. Tusco et Basso consulibus cum Gallienus vino et popinis vacaret cumque se lenonibus, mimis et meretricibus dederet ac bona naturae luxuriae continuatione deperderet, Ingenuus, qui Pannonias tunc regebat, a Moesiacis legionibus imperator est dictus, ceteris Pannoniarum volentibus. neque in quoquam melius consultum rei publicae a militibus videbatur quam quod instantibus Sarmatis creatus est imperator,
2 qui fessis rebus mederi sua virtute potuisset. causa autem ipsi arripiendi tunc imperii fuit, ne suspectus esset imperatoribus, quod erat fortissimus ac rei publicae necessarius et militibus, quod imperantes vehe-
3 menter movet, acceptissimus. sed Gallienus, ut erat nequam et perditus, ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, velox, fortis, vehemens, crudelis, denique Ingenuum conflictu habito vicit eoque occiso in omnes Moesiacos

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[1] The correctness of this date has been questioned, for Aurelius Victor (*Caes.*, 33, 2) places the revolt of Ingenuus after the capture of Valerian, *i.e.* in 260. It occurred, however, shortly before the revolt of Postumus, and there is reason to believe that this was in 258 or 259; see note to c. iii. 2.

[2] At Mursa (mod. Eszek) or at Sirmium (Mitrovitz) in Pannonia; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 2; Eutropius, ix. 8, 1; Zonaras, xii. 24.

that it shall be most of all the steel that they fear in us. But as for you, I wish you to rest assured that you have chosen as emperor one who will never know how to deal with aught but the steel. And this I say because I know that no charge can be brought against me by that pestiferous profligate save this, that I have been a forger of swords and armour."

INGENUUS

IX. In the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus,[1] while 258
Gallienus was spending his time in wine and gluttony and giving himself up to pimps and actors and harlots, and by continued debauchery was destroying the gifts of nature, Ingenuus, then ruler of the Pannonian provinces, was acclaimed emperor by the legions of Moesia, and those in Pannonia assented thereto. And, in fact, it appeared that in no other case had the soldiers taken better counsel for the commonwealth than when, in the face of an inroad of the Sarmatians, they chose as their emperor one who by his valour could bring a remedy to the exhausted state. His reason, moreover, for seizing the power at that time was his fear of becoming an object of suspicion to the emperors, because he was both very brave and necessary to the commonwealth, and also —a cause which rouses rulers most of all—well beloved by the soldiers. Gallienus, however, worthless and degraded though he was, could still, when necessity demanded, show himself quick in action, courageous, vigorous and cruel, and finally, meeting Ingenuus in battle,[2] he defeated him and, after slaying him, vented his anger most fiercely on all the Moesians, soldiers and civilians alike. For he left

tam milites quam cives asperrime saeviit. nec quemquam suae crudelitatis exsortem reliquit, usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a
4 virili sexu relinqueret. fertur sane item Ingenuus civitate capta in aquam se mersisse[1] atque ita vitam finisse, ne in tyranni crudelis potestatem veniret.
5 Exstat sane epistula Gallieni, quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua eius nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur. quam ego idcirco interposui ut omnes intellegerent hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas postulet :
6 " Gallienus Veriano. non mihi satisfacies, si tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors in bellis interi-
7 mere potuisset. perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra
8 occidi possent. occidendus est quicumque male voluit, occidendus est quicumque male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum
9 patrem et fratrem. Ingenuus factus est imperator. lacera, occide, concide, animum meum intellege, mea mente irascere, qui haec manu mea scripsi."

REGALIANUS

X. Fati publici fuit, ut Gallieni tempore quicumque potuit ad imperium prosiliret. Regalianus denique

[1] *in aquam se mersisse* Σ, Hohl ; *in qua se* P[1] ; *intrasse domum in qua se pugione transfodit* P corr. ; *laqueasse se* Peter.

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[1] On the other hand, Gallienus' clemency is noted by the Continuator of Cassius Dio, frg. 163 (ed. Boissevain, iii. p. 743) and Zonaras, xii. 25, and, in other instances, by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, 10.

none exempt from his cruelty,[1] and so brutal and savage was he, that in many communities he left not a single male alive. It is said of Ingenuus, indeed, that when the city was captured, he threw himself into the water, and so put an end to his life,[2] that he might not fall into the power of the brutal tyrant.

There is, indeed, still in existence a letter of Gallienus, written to Celer Verianus,[3] which shows his excessive brutality. This I have inserted, in order that all may learn that a profligate, if necessity demand, can be the most brutal of men :

"From Gallienus to Verianus. You will not satisfy me if you kill only armed combatants, for these even chance could have killed in the war. You must slay every male, that is, if old men and immature boys can be put to death without bringing odium upon us. You must slay all who have wished me ill, slay all who have spoken ill of me, the son of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes. Ingenuus has been created emperor! Therefore mutilate, kill, slaughter, see that you understand my purpose and show your anger with that spirit which I am showing, I who have written these words with my own hand."

REGALIANUS

X. It was the public destiny that in the time of Gallienus whosoever could, sprang up to seize the

[2] According to Zonaras, xii. 24, he was killed by his attendant soldiers during his flight. It is difficult to reconcile this with any of the suggested readings of § 4.

[3] Unknown and probably fictitious.

in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis, qui cum Ingenuo fuerant ante superati, in quorum parentes graviter Gallienus
2 saevierat. hic tamen multa fortiter contra Sarmatas gessit, sed auctoribus Roxolanis consentientibusque militibus et timore provincialium ne iterum Gallienus graviora faceret, interemptus est.
3 Mirabile fortasse videatur, si quae origo imperii eius fuerit declaretur. capitali enim ioco[1] regna prome-
4 ruit. nam cum milites cum eo quidam cenarent, exstitit vicarius tribuni qui diceret: "Regaliani nomen unde credimus dictum?" alius continuo,
5 "Credimus quod a regno". tum iis qui aderat scholasticus coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare
6 et dicere, "Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus". milites, ut est hominum genus pronum ad ea quae cogitant, "Ergo potest rex esse?" item alius, "Ergo potest nos regere?" item alius, "Deus tibi regis nomen
7 imposuit".[2] quid multa? his dictis cum alia die mane processisset, a principiis imperator est salutatus. ita quod aliis vel audacia vel iudicium, huic detulit iocularis astutia.
8 Fuit, quod negari non potest, vir in re[3] militari

[1] *loco* P, *Σ*. [2] *imposuit Σ*, Hohl, foll. by Klotz; *posuit* P, Peter. [3] *re* ins. by Novák; om. in P[1]; ins. after *militari* P corr., Peter.

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[1] P. C. . . . . Regalianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] p. 10. The form Regilianus in which his name appears in the MSS. of this *vita* (except § 5) and also in *Gall.*, ix. 1 and *Claud.*, vii. 4 seems to owe its origin to the desire to make the pun contained in § 3 f. Aur. Victor (33, 2) agrees with the biographer in relating that he rallied the remains of Ingenuus' army and renewed the war against Gallienus.

imperial power. And so Regalianus,[1] who held the command in Illyricum, was declared emperor, the prime movers being the Moesians, who had previously been defeated with Ingenuus and on whose kinsmen Gallienus had vented his anger severely. He, indeed, performed many brave deeds against the Sarmatians, but nevertheless, at the instigation of the Roxolani[2] and with the consent of the soldiers and the provincials, who feared that Gallienus might, on a second occasion, act even more cruelly, he was put to death.

It may perhaps seem a matter for wonder if I relate the origin of his rule, for it was all because of a notable jest that he gained the royal power. For when some soldiers were dining with him and a certain acting-tribune arose and said, "Whence shall we suppose that Regalianus gets his name?" another replied at once, "I suppose from his regal power." Then a schoolmaster who was present among them began, as it seemed, to decline grammatically, saying, "*Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus,*" whereupon among the soldiers—a class of men who are quick to express what they have in mind—one cried out, "So, then, can he be regal?" another, "So, then, can he hold regal sway over us?" and again another, "God has given you a regent's name." Why should I then say more? The next day after these words were spoken, on going forth in the morning he was greeted as emperor by the front-line troops. Thus what was offered to others through daring or reasoned choice was offered to him through a clever jest.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that he had always

[2] See note to *Hadr.*, vi. 6.

semper probatus et Gallieno iam ante suspectus, quod dignus videretur imperio, gentis Daciae, De-
9 cebali ipsius, ut fertur, adfinis. exstat epistula divi Claudii tunc privati, qua Regaliano, Illyrici duci, gratias agit ob redditum Illyricum, cum omnia Gallieni segnitia deperirent. quam ego repertam in authenticis inserendam putavi; fuit enim publica.
10 "Claudius Regaliano multam salutem. felicem rem publicam quae te talem virum habere in castris bellicis[1] meruit, felicem Gallienum, etiamsi ei vera
11 nemo nec de bonis nec de malis nuntiat. pertulerunt ad me Bonitus et Celsus, stipatores principis nostri, qualis apud Scupos in pugnando fueris, quot uno die proelia et qua celeritate confeceris. dignus
12 eras triumpho, si antiqua tempora exstarent. sed quid multa? memor cuiusdam hominis cautius velim vincas. arcus Sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fibulatoria, cum ipse misi de nostris."
13 Hac epistula ostenditur quid de Regaliano senserit Claudius, cuius gravissimum iudicium suis temporibus fuisse non dubium est.
14 Nec a Gallieno quidem vir iste promotus est sed a patre eius Valeriano, ut et Claudius et Macrianus et

[1] *bellicis* Baehrens, Peter; *belli ius* P.

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[1] The formidable king of the Dacians who was finally overcome by Trajan, after two wars, in 107.
[2] Probably Zlokuchan near Usküb (Skoplje) in Jugoslavia.

won approbation in warfare and had long been suspected by Gallienus because he seemed worthy to rule; he was, moreover, a Dacian by birth and a kinsman, so it was said, of Decebalus[1] himself. There is still in existence a letter written by the Deified Claudius, then still a commoner, in which he expresses his thanks to Regalianus, as general in command of Illyricum, for recovering this district, at a time when Gallienus' slothfulness was bringing all things to ruin. This letter, which I have found in the original form, I think should be inserted here, for it was written officially:

"From Claudius to Regalianus many greetings. Fortunate is the commonwealth, which has deserved to have such a man as yourself in its military camps, and fortunate is Gallienus, though no one tells him the truth about either good men or bad. Word has been brought to me by Bonitus and Celsus, the attendants of our emperor, how you conducted yourself in fighting at Scupi[2] and how many battles you fought in a single day and with what great speed. You were worthy of a triumph, did but the olden times still remain. But why say more? I could wish that you might be mindful of a certain person and therefore be more cautious in gaining victories. I should like you to send me some Sarmatian bows and two military cloaks, but provided with clasps, for I am sending you some of my own."

This letter shows what opinion of Regalianus was held by Claudius, whose judgement was without doubt most weighty in his own time.

It was not, indeed, from Gallienus that Regalianus received his promotion, but from his father, Valerian, as did also Claudius, Macrianus, Ingenuus, Postumus

Ingenuus et Postumus et Aureolus, qui omnes in imperio interempti sunt, cum mererentur imperium.
15 mirabile autem hoc fuit in Valeriano principe, quod omnes, quoscumque duces fecit, postea militum testimonio ad imperium pervenerunt, ut appareat senem imperatorem in deligendis rei publicae ducibus talem fuisse, qualem Romana felicitas, si continuari fataliter
16 potuisset sub bono principe, requirebat. et utinam vel illi qui arripuerant imperia regnare potuissent, vel eius filius in imperio diutius non fuisset, utlibet
17 se in suo statu res publica nostra tenuisset. sed nimis sibi Fortuna indulgendum putavit, quae et cum Valeriano bonos principes tulit et Gallienum diutius quam oportebat rei publicae reservavit.

AUREOLUS

XI. Hic quoque Illyricianos exercitus regens in contemptu Gallieni, ut omnes eo tempore, coactus
2 a militibus sumpsit imperium. et cum Macrianus cum filio suo Macriano contra Gallienum veniret cum plurimis, exercitus eius cepit, aliquos corruptos fidei
3 suae addixit. et cum factus esset hinc validus[1] imperator cumque Gallienus expugnare virum fortem

[1] *hinc validus* Salm., Peter; *invalidus* P, Σ.

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[1] Despite the assurance contained in §§ 6-7, practically our only information concerning this really important man comes from Zonaras (xii. 24). Aureolus as commander of Gallienus' cavalry contributed greatly to the successful battle against Ingenuus. Later he was sent to Thrace to oppose the advance of Macrianus (c. xii. 13-14; *Gall.*, ii. 6-7), whose troops he persuaded to surrender without a battle. In 268 he declared himself emperor and advanced on Milan. Here Gallienus

and Aureolus, who all were slain while they held the imperial power, although they deserved to hold it. It was, moreover, a matter for marvel in Valerian as emperor, that all who were appointed commanders by him, afterwards, by the voice of the soldiers, obtained the imperial rule, so that it is clear that the aged emperor, in choosing the generals of the commonwealth, was, in fact, such an one as the felicity of Rome—could it only have been permitted by fate to continue under a worthy prince—ever required. Oh that it might have been possible either for those who seized the imperial power to rule for a longer time, or for this man's son to rule less long, that somehow our commonwealth might have kept itself in its proper position! But Fortune claimed for herself too much indulgence, when with Valerian she took away our righteous princes, and preserved Gallienus for the commonwealth longer than was meet.

AUREOLUS

XI. This man [1] also, while commanding the Illyrian armies, was urged on by the soldiers in their contempt for Gallienus (as were all others at that time) and so seized the imperial power. And when Macrianus and his son Macrianus marched against Gallienus with very large forces, he took their troops, and some he won over to his cause by bribery. When Aureolus had thus become a mighty emperor, Gallienus, after trying in vain to conquer so brave a man and being

besieged him but fell during the siege (see *Gall.*, xiv. 6-9). After his death Aureolus submitted to Claudius but again planned a revolt, at the outset of which he was killed by his soldiers (*Claud.*, v. 1-3).

frustra temptasset, pacem cum eo fecit[1] contra Postumum pugnaturus. quorum pleraque et dicta sunt et dicenda.

4 Hunc eundem Aureolum Claudius interfecto iam Gallieno conflictu habito apud eum pontem interemit qui nunc pons Aureoli nuncupatur, atque illic ut 5 tyrannum sepulchro humiliore donavit. exstat etiam nunc epigramma Graecum in hanc formam :

Dono sepulchrorum victor post multa tyranni
proelia iam felix Claudius Aureolum
munere prosequitur mortali et iure superstes,
vivere quem vellet, si pateretur amor
militis egregii, vitam qui iure negavit
omnibus indignis et magis Aureolo.
ille tamen clemens, qui corporis ultima servans
et pontem Aureoli dedicat et tumulum.

6 hos ego versus a quodam grammatico translatos ita posui ut fidem servarem, non quo non[2] melius potuerint transferri, sed ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod 7 ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo. rem enim vobis

[1] *fecit* Σ, Hohl ; om. in P ; ins. after *pugnaturus* by Peter.
[2] *non* om. in P.

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[1] Mod. Pontirolo on the Adda, about 20 miles N.E. of Milan.

[2] The epigram is given in a Greek version, apparently by Andrea Alciatus, in *I. G.*, xiv. no. 355* (p. 32*).

now on the point of beginning a war against Postumus, made peace with him—of which events many have already been related and many are still to be told.

This same Aureolus, after Gallienus was slain, Claudius met in battle and killed at that bridge which now bears the name of Aureolus' Bridge,[1] and there he bestowed upon him a tomb, but a lowly one as became a pretender. There is even now in existence an epigram in Greek [2] of the following purport:

"Sepulture's gift, after many a battle against the pretender,
Claudius, flushed with success, gives to Aureolus now,
Doing him honour in death, himself the rightful survivor.
Fain had he kept him alive, only his glorious troops
Suffered it not in their love; for they put out of life very rightly
All who deserved not to live—why not Aureolus more?
Merciful, though, was that prince, who preserved what was left of his body,
And in Aureolus' name built both a bridge and a tomb."

These verses, translated by a certain teacher of grammar, I have given in such a way that their accuracy is retained, although they could be translated more elegantly; but I do it with the purpose of preserving historical truth, which I have thought should be guarded above all else, and caring naught for considerations of literary style. For, indeed, it is fact that I have determined to put before you and not mere words, especially when we have such an

proposui deferre, non verba, maxime tanta rerum copia ut in triginta tyrannorum simul vitis.

MACRIANUS

XII. Capto Valeriano, diu clarissimo principe civitatis, fortissimo deinde imperatori, ad postremum omnium infelicissimo, vel quod senex apud Persas consenuit vel quod indignos se posteros dereliquit, cum Gallienum contemnendum Ballista praefectus Valeriani et Macrianus primus ducum[1] intellegerent, quaerentibus etiam militibus principem, unum in locum 2 concesserunt quaerentes quid faciendum esset. tuncque constitit, Gallieno longe posito Aureolo usurpante imperium, debere aliquem principem fieri, et quidem 3 optimum, ne quispiam tyrannus exsisteret. verba igitur Ballistae (quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui 4 consilio interfuit, adserit) haec fuerunt: "Mea et aetas et professio et voluntas longe ab imperio absunt, et ego, quod negare non possum, bonum principem 5 quaero. sed quis tandem est, qui Valeriani locum possit implere, nisi talis qualis tu es, fortis, constans, integer, probatus in re publica et, quod 6 maxime ad imperium pertinet, dives? arripe igitur

[1] *ducum* Salm.; *dum* P, *Σ*.

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[1] M. Fulvius Macrianus Augustus. As Valerian's *κόμης τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ἐφεστὼς τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ σίτου* he was not present when the Emperor was captured; later he succeeded in rallying the soldiers at Samosata; see Continuator of Cassius Dio, frg. 159 (ed. Boissevain, iii. p. 742). Further details of his revolt in 261, as described here, are given in *Gall.*, i-ii. and in Zonaras, xii. 24. His coins show that the correct form of his name and his son's is Macrianus, and not

abundance of facts as in the lives of the thirty pretenders taken together.

MACRIANUS[1]

XII. After the capture of Valerian, long a most noble prince in the state, then a most valiant emperor, but at the last the most unfortunate of all men (either because in his old age he pined away among the Persians or because he left behind him unworthy descendants), Ballista,[2] Valerian's prefect, and Macrianus, the foremost of his generals, since they knew that Gallienus was worthy only of contempt and since the soldiers, too, were seeking an emperor, withdrew together to a certain place, to consider what should be done. They then agreed that, since Gallienus was far away and Aureolus was usurping the imperial power, some emperor ought to be chosen, and, indeed, the best man, lest there should arise some pretender. Therefore Ballista (or so Maeonius Astyanax,[3] who took part in their council, relates) spoke as follows: "As for myself, my age and my calling and my desires are all far removed from the imperial office, and so, as I cannot deny, I am searching for a worthy prince. But who, pray, is there who can fill the place of Valerian except such a man as yourself, brave, steadfast, honourable, well proved in public affairs, and—what is of the highest importance for holding the imperial office—possessed of great wealth?

Macrinus, as it frequently appears in the MSS. of the *Historia Augusta* and in other authors: see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 2-3. Papyri dated in the first year of Macrianus and Quietus (c. xiv.) show that they were accepted in Egypt as emperors in 260.

[2] See c. xviii. [3] Otherwise unknown.

locum meritis tuis debitum. me praefecto, quamdiu voles, uteris. tu cum re publica tantum bene agas,
7 ut te Romanus orbis factum principem gaudeat." ad haec Macrianus: "Fateor, Ballista, imperium prudenti non frustra est. volo enim rei publicae subvenire atque illam pestem a legum gubernaculis dimovere, sed non hoc in me aetatis est; senex sum, ad exemplum equitare non possum, lavandum mihi est frequentius, edendum delicatius, divitiae me iam dudum
8 ab usu militiae retraxerunt. iuvenes aliqui sunt quaerendi, nec unus sed duo vel tres fortissimi, qui ex diversis partibus[1] orbis humani rem publicam restituant, quam Valerianus fato, Gallienus vitae suae
9 genere perdiderunt." post haec intellexit eum Ballista sic agere ut de filiis suis videretur cogitare, atque adeo sic adgressus est: "Prudentiae tuae rem publi-
10 cam tradimus. da igitur liberos tuos Macrianum et Quietum, fortissimos iuvenes, olim tribunos a Valeriano factos, quia Gallieno imperante, quod boni sunt,
11 salvi esse non possunt." tunc ille ubi intellectum se esse comperit, "Do," inquit, "manus, de meo stipendium militi duplex daturus. tu tantum praefecti mihi studium et annonam in necessariis locis praebe. iam ego faxim ut Gallienus, sordidissimus feminarum omnium, duces sui parentis intellegat."

[1] *partibus* Σ; *patribus* P.

Therefore, take this post which your merits deserve. My services as prefect shall be yours as long as you wish. Do you only serve the commonwealth well, so that the Roman world may rejoice that you have been made its prince." To this Macrianus replied: "I admit, Ballista, that to the wise man the imperial office is no light thing. For I wish, indeed, to come to the aid of the commonwealth and to remove that pestiferous fellow from administering the laws, but I am not of an age for this; I am now an old man, I cannot ride as an example to others, I must bathe too often and eat too carefully, and my very riches have long since kept me away from practicing war. We must seek out some young men, and not one alone, but two or three of the bravest, who in different parts of the world of mankind can restore the commonwealth, which Valerian and Gallienus have brought to ruin, the one by his fate, the other by his mode of life." Whereupon Ballista, perceiving that Macrianus, in so speaking, seemed to have in mind his own two sons, answered him as follows: "To your wisdom, then, we entrust the commonwealth. And so give us your sons Macrianus and Quietus, most valiant young men, long since made tribunes by Valerian, for, under the rule of Gallienus, for the very reason that they are good men, they cannot remain unharmed." Then Macrianus, finding out that his thoughts had been understood, replied: "I will yield, and from my own funds I will present to the soldiers a double bounty. Do you but give me your zealous service as prefect and furnish rations in the needful places. I will now do my best that Gallienus, more contemptible than any woman, may come to know his father's generals." And so, with the consent of all

12 factus est igitur cum Macriano et Quieto duobus filiis cunctis militibus volentibus imperator ac statim contra Gallienum venire coepit utcumque rebus in oriente
13 derelictis. sed cum quadraginta quinque milia militum secum duceret, in Illyrico vel in Thraciarum extimis congressus cum Aureolo victus et cum filio
14 interemptus est. triginta denique milia militum in Aureoli potestatem concessere. Domitianus autem eundem vicit, dux Aureoli fortissimus et vehementissimus, qui se originem diceret a Domitiano imperatore [1] trahere atque a Domitilla.

15 De Macriano autem nefas mihi videtur iudicium Valeriani praeterire, quod ille in oratione sua, quam ad senatum e Persidis finibus miserat, posuit. inter
16 cetera ex oratione divi Valeriani: "Ego, patres conscripti, bellum Persicum gerens Macriano totam rem publicam credidi et [2] quidem a parte militari. ille vobis fidelis, ille mihi devotus, illum et amat et timet miles. utcumque res exegerit, cum exercitibus agit.
17 nec, patres conscripti, nova vel inopina nobis sunt; pueri eius virtus in Italia, adulescentis in Gallia, iuvenis in Thracia, in Africa iam provecti, senescentis denique in Illyrico et Dalmatia comprobata est, cum in diversis proeliis ad exemplum fortiter faceret.

[1] *imperatore* ins. by P corr., foll. by Klotz; om. by Peter and Hohl. [2] *et* om. in P.

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[1] Mentioned also in c. xiii. 3 and *Gall.*, ii. 6. He is probably the pretender of this name who arose under Aurelian; see Zosimus, i. 49, 2. A coin of his has been found in France on which he bears the titles Caesar and Augustus; see Babelon in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscrs.*, 1901, p. 200. His descent is evidently a fabrication of the biographer's, for

the soldiers, Macrianus was made emperor, together with his two sons Macrianus and Quietus, and he immediately proceeded to march against Gallienus, leaving affairs in the East in whatever state he could. But while he was on the march, having with him a force of forty-five thousand soldiers, he met Aureolus in Illyricum or on the borders of Thrace, and there he was defeated and together with his son was slain. Then thirty thousand of his men yielded to Aureolus' power. It was Domitianus,[1] indeed, who won this victory, the bravest and most active of Aureolus' leaders, who claimed to be the descendant of the Emperor Domitian and Domitilla.

In writing of Macrianus, moreover, it would seem to me wrong to leave out the opinion of Valerian, which he expressed in the message he sent to the senate from the frontier of Persia. A portion of the message of the Deified Valerian: "Being now engaged in the war with the Persians, Conscript Fathers, I have entrusted all public affairs, and even those which concern the war, to Macrianus. He is faithful to you, loyal to me, and both beloved and feared by the soldiers. He with his army will act as the case shall demand. And in this, Conscript Fathers, there is nothing new or unexpected by us. For while a boy in Italy, while a youth in Gaul, while a young man in Thrace, while a mature man in Africa, and, finally, while well advanced in years in Illyricum and Dalmatia, his valour has been well proved, for in divers battles he has done brave deeds which may serve as a pattern to others. I will add, besides, that he has young sons, worthy of being our associates

[1] Domitilla was Domitian's niece, not his wife; the latter was Domitia Longina.

18 huc accedit quod habet iuvenes filios Romano dignos [1] collegio, nostra dignos [1] amicitia," et reliqua.

MACRIANUS IUNIOR

XIII. Multa de hoc in patris imperio praelibata sunt, qui numquam imperator factus esset, nisi pru- 2 dentiae patris eius creditum videretur. de hoc plane multa miranda dicuntur, quae ad fortitudinem pertineant iuvenalis aetatis. sed quid [2] ad fata aut quantum 3 in bellis unius valet fortitudo? hic enim vehemens cum prudentissimo patre, cuius merito imperare coeperat, a Domitiano victus triginta (dixi superius) milibus militum spoliatus est, matre nobilis, patre tantum forti et ad bellum parato atque ab ultima militia in summum perveniente ducatum splendore sublimi.

QUIETUS

XIV. Hic, ut diximus, Macriani filius fuit. cum patre et fratre Ballistae iudicio imperator est factus. sed ubi comperit Odaenathus, qui olim iam orientem tenebat, ab Aureolo Macrianum, patrem Quieti, cum

[1] *dignos* Σ; *dignus* P, Peter, Hohl. [2] *quid* ins. by Helm, foll. by Hohl; om. in P and Σ; *ad fata aut in bellis quantum* Peter following Salm. and Obrecht.

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[1] T. Fulvius Iunius Macrianus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 3-6.

[2] T. Fulvius Iunius Quietus Augustus, according to his coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 6-8. For his death, see c. xv. 4 and *Gall.*, iii. 2. According to Zonaras (xii. 24), he was defeated near

in Rome and worthy, too, of our friendship," and so forth.

MACRIANUS THE YOUNGER

XIII. I have already given a foretaste, in the account of his father's rule, of many details about this man,[1] who would never have been chosen emperor, had it not seemed well to trust to his father's wisdom. Many marvellous stories, it is true, are related concerning him, all of which have to do with the bravery of youthful years. But what, after all, does one single man's bravery avail against fate or how much does it profit in war? For, though active himself and accompanied by the wisest of fathers (through whose merits he had begun to rule), he was defeated by Domitianus, and despoiled, as I have previously said, of an army of thirty thousand soldiers, being himself of noble birth through his mother, for his father was merely brave and ready for war, and had risen from the lowest rank in the army with exalted distinction to the highest command.

QUIETUS

XIV. This man,[2] as we have said,[3] was the son of Macrianus and was made emperor, along with his father and brother, in accordance with the judgement of Ballista. But when Odaenathus, who had now for some time held the East, learned that the two Macriani, the father and brother of Quietus, had been

Emesa (Homs) by Odaenathus and then put to death by the people of the city.

[3] c. xii. 12.

eius fratre Macriano victos, milites in eius potestatem concessisse, quasi Gallieni partes vindicaret, adulescentem cum Ballista praefecto dudum interemit. 2 idem quoque adulescens dignissimus Romano imperio fuit, ut vere Macriani filius, Macriani etiam frater, qui duo adflictis rebus potuerunt rem publicam gerere, videretur.

3 Non mihi praetereundum videtur de Macrianorum familia, quae hodieque floret, id dicere quod speciale 4 semper habuerunt. Alexandrum Magnum Macedonem viri in anulis et argento, mulieres et in reticulis et dextrocheriis et in anulis et in omni ornamentorum genere exsculptum semper habuerunt, eo usque ut tunicae et limbi et paenulae matronales in familia eius hodieque sint, quae Alexandri effigiem de 5 liciis variantibus monstrent. vidimus proxime Cornelium Macrum ex eadem familia virum, cum cenam in Templo Herculis daret, pateram electrinam, quae in medio vultum Alexandri haberet et in circuitu omnem historiam contineret signis brevibus et minutulis, pontifici propinare, quam quidem circumferri ad 6 omnes tanti illius viri cupidissimos iussit. quod idcirco posui quia dicuntur iuvari in omni actu suo qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento.

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[1] These writers have a liking for representing descendants of emperors or pretenders as alive in their own day; see c. xxxiii. 5; *Gord.*, xx. 6; *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 1; *Aur.*, i. 3; xlii. 1; *Prob.*, xxiv. 1; *Firm.*, xiii. 5. Most of these persons are probably fictitious.

defeated by Aureolus, and that their soldiers had yielded to his power in the belief that he was upholding the cause of Gallienus, he put the young man to death and with him Ballista, for a long time prefect. This young man, too, was worthy to hold the power at Rome, so that he seemed to be truly the son of Macrianus and also the brother of Macrianus, who together were well able to govern the commonwealth in its stricken state.

It does not seem to me, in telling of the family of the Macriani (which is still flourishing to-day),[1] that I should fail to speak of a peculiar custom which they have always observed. For an embossed head of Alexander the Great of Macedonia was always used by the men on their rings and their silver plate, and by the women on their head-dresses, their bracelets, their rings and ornaments of every kind, so that even to-day there are still in that family tunics and fillets and women's cloaks which show the likeness of Alexander in threads of divers colours. We, ourselves, recently saw Cornelius Macer, a man of that same family, while giving a dinner in the Temple of Hercules,[2] drink the health of a pontiff from a bowl made of electrum,[3] which had in the centre the face of Alexander and contained on the circumference his whole history in small and minute figures, and this he caused to be passed around to all the most ardent admirers of that great hero. All this I have included because it is said that those who wear the likeness of Alexander carved in either gold or silver are aided in all that they do.

[2] There were several temples of Hercules in Rome.

[3] An alloy of gold and silver; a somewhat similar bowl is described in Martial, viii. 51.

ODAENATHUS

XV. Nisi Odaenathus, princeps Palmyrenorum, capto Valeriano, fessis Romanae rei publicae viribus, sumpsisset imperium, in oriente perditae res essent. 2 quare adsumpto nomine primum regali cum uxore Zenobia et filio maiore, cui erat nomen Herodes, minoribus Herenniano et Timolao collecto exercitu 3 contra Persas profectus est. Nisibin primum et orientis pleraque cum omni Mesopotamia in potestatem recepit, deinde ipsum regem victum fugere 4 coegit. postremo Ctesiphonta usque Saporem et eius liberos persecutus captis concubinis, capta etiam magna praeda ad orientem vertit, sperans quod Macrianum, qui imperare contra Gallienum coeperat, posset opprimere, sed illo iam profecto contra Aureolum et contra Gallienum. eo interempto filium eius Quietum interfecit, Ballista, ut plerique adserunt, 5 regnum usurpante, ne et ipse posset occidi. composito igitur magna ex parte orientis statu a consobrino suo

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[1] Septimius Odaenathus, son of Septimius Hairanes. A member of the most important family of Palmyra, he received from the Roman government the title of consularis, which he bears in an inscription of 258 (Lebas-Wad. 2602) and on his coins. Later he received from Gallienus the office of *στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἑῴας* or *πάσης Ἀνατολῆς*; see Zonaras, xii. 23-24 and Syncellus, I., p. 716 (cf. *Gall.*, iii. 3; x. 1). This indicates a general *imperium* over all the Asiatic provinces and Egypt, but subject to that of the Roman Emperor. He afterwards took the title of King of Palmyra (§ 2), and on a Palmyrene inscription set up in 271 after his death he is called "King of Kings." There is no evidence that he ever received the title of Augustus

ODAENATHUS

XV. Had not Odaenathus,[1] prince of the Palmyrenes, seized the imperial power after the capture of Valerian, when the strength of the Roman state was exhausted, all would have been lost in the East. He assumed, therefore, as the first of his line, the title of King, and after gathering together an army he set out against the Persians, having with him his wife Zenobia,[2] his elder son, whose name was Herodes, and his younger sons, Herennianus and Timolaus.[3] First of all, he brought under his power Nisibis and most of the East together with the whole of Mesopotamia, next, he defeated the king himself and compelled him to flee. Finally, he pursued Sapor and his children even as far as Ctesiphon, and captured his concubines and also a great amount of booty; then he turned to the oriental provinces, hoping to be able to crush Macrianus,[4] who had begun to rule in opposition to Gallienus, but he had already set out against Aureolus and Gallienus. After Macrianus was slain, Odaenathus killed his son Quietus also, while Ballista, many assert, usurped the imperial power[5] in order that he, too, might not be slain. Then, after he had for the most part put in order the affairs of the East, he was killed by his cousin

from Gallienus (*Gall.*, xii. 1), or assumed it himself, or in any way formally rebelled against the power of Rome, although in fact his position was almost that of an independent prince. On his suppression of the revolt of Quietus see also c. xiv. 1 and *Gall.*, iii. 1-5, and on his invasion of Mesopotamia after the capture of Valerian see *Val.*, iv. 2-4; *Gall.*, x. 3-8; xii. 1.

[2] See c. xxx.
[3] See c. xxvii-xxviii.
[4] See c. xii.
[5] See note to c. xviii. 1.

Maeonio, qui et ipse imperium sumpserat, interemptus est cum filio suo Herode, qui et ipse post reditum de
6 Perside cum patre imperator est appellatus. iratum fuisse rei publicae deum credo, qui interfecto Valeri-
7 ano noluit Odaenathum reservare. ille plane cum uxore Zenobia non solum orientem, quem iam in pristinum reformaverat statum, sed et omnes omnino totius orbis partes reformasset, vir acer in bellis et, quantum plerique scriptores loquuntur, venatu memorabili semper inclitus, qui a prima aetate capiendis leonibus et pardis, ursis ceterisque silvestribus animalibus sudorem officii virilis impendit quique semper in silvis ac montibus vixit, perferens calorem, pluvias et omnia mala quae in se continent venatoriae volup-
8 tates. quibus duratus solem ac pulverem in bellis Persicis tulit, non aliter etiam coniuge adsueta, quae multorum sententia fortior marito fuisse perhibetur, mulier omnium nobilissima orientalium feminarum et, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.[1]

HERODES

XVI. Non Zenobia matre sed priore uxore genitus Herodes cum patre accepit imperium, homo omnium delicatissimus et prorsus orientalis et Graecae luxuriae,

[1] *spetiosissimam* Σ; *saepedissimam* P[1].

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[1] See also *Gall.*, xiii. 1. On Maeonius, see note to c. xvii. 1. According to Zosimus, i. 39, 2, the murder took place at Emesa (Homs); it can be dated in 266-267, as Alexandrian coins show this to be the first year of Vaballathus, Odaenathus' son and successor.

[2] Otherwise unknown and perhaps fictitious.

[3] Mentioned also in c. xv. 2 and 5; xvii. 1; *Gall.*, xiii. 1. The statement that he was killed with his father seems to

Maeonius [1] (who also had seized the imperial power), together with his son Herodes, who, also, after returning from Persia along with his father, had received the title of emperor. Some god, I believe, was angry with the commonwealth, who, after Valerian's death, was unwilling to preserve Odaenathus alive. For of a surety he, with his wife Zenobia, would have restored not only the East, which he had already brought back to its ancient condition, but also all parts of the whole world everywhere, since he was fierce in warfare and, as most writers relate, ever famous for his memorable hunts; for from his earliest years he expended his sweat, as is the duty of a man, in taking lions and panthers and bears and other beasts of the forest, and always lived in the woods and the mountains, enduring heat and rain and all other hardships which pleasures of hunting entail. Hardened by these he was able to bear the sun and the dust in the wars with the Persians; and his wife, too, was inured to hardship and in the opinion of many was held to be more brave than her husband, being, indeed, the noblest of all the women of the East, and, as Cornelius Capitolinus [2] declares, the most beautiful.

HERODES

XVI. Herodes,[3] who was the son, not of Zenobia, but of a former wife of Odaenathus, received the imperial power along with his father, though he was the most effeminate of men, wholly oriental and given over to Grecian luxury, for he had embroidered tents

be borne out by Zonaras (xii. 24), who says that Odaenathus' older son was killed with him.

cui erant sigillata tentoria et aureati papiliones et
2 omnia Persica. denique ingenio eius usus Odaenathus quicquid concubinarum regalium, quicquid divitiarum gemmarumque cepit, eidem tradidit paterniae indul-
3 gentiae adfectione permotus. et erat circa illum Zenobia novercali animo, qua re commendabiliorem patri eum fecerat. neque plura sunt quae de Herode dicantur.

MAEONIUS

XVII. Hic consobrinus Odaenathi fuit nec ulla re alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia imperatorem optimum interemit, cum ei nihil aliud obiceret praeter filium
2 Herodem.[1] dicitur autem primum cum Zenobia consensisse, quae ferre non poterat ut privignus eius Herodes priore loco quam filii eius, Herennianus et Timolaus, principes dicerentur. sed hic quoque spur-
3 cissimus fuit. quare imperator appellatus per errorem brevi a militibus pro suae luxuriae meritis interemptus est.

BALLISTA

XVIII. De hoc, utrum imperaverit, scriptores inter se ambigunt. multi enim dicunt Quieto per Odae-

[1] So Salm. foll. by Peter; *filii herodes* P; *filii Herodis* <*luxuriem*> Helm foll. by Hohl.

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[1] Cf. c. xv. 4; *Val.*, iv. 3.

[2] He is represented here, as well as in c. xv. 5 and *Gall.*, xiii. 1, as Odaenathus' cousin, but in Zonaras (xii. 24) as his nephew. Here and in c. xv. 5 his name is given as Maeonius, while Syncellus (I. p. 717) knows him as Odaenathus, and the Continuator of Cassius Dio frg. 166 (ed. Boissevain., iii p. 744), as Rufinus. The statement that he was vested with the imperial power and not killed until later seems to be an invention of the biographer's, due to his desire to swell the

and pavilions made out of cloth of gold and everything in the manner of the Persians. In fact, Odaenathus, complying with his ways and moved by the promptings of a father's indulgence, gave him all the king's concubines[1] and the riches and jewels that he captured. Zenobia, indeed, treated him in a step-mother's way, and this made him all the more dear to his father. Nothing more remains to be said concerning Herodes.

MAEONIUS

XVII. This man,[2] the cousin of Odaenathus, murdered that excellent emperor, being moved thereto by nothing else than contemptible envy, for he could bring no charge against him save that Herodes was his son. It is said, however, that previously he had entered into a conspiracy with Zenobia, who could not bear that her stepson Herodes should be called a prince in a higher rank than her own two sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. But Maeonius, too, was a filthy fellow, and so, after being saluted as emperor through some blunder, he was shortly thereafter killed by the soldiers, as his excesses deserved.

BALLISTA

XVIII. As to whether this man[3] held the imperial power or not historians do not agree. For many

number of his "Thirty." According to Zonaras he was killed immediately after the murder.

[3] On his services in aiding Odaenathus to repel the Persians after Valerian's capture, see *Val.*, iv. 4; Zonaras, xii. 23 (where he is called Callistus). On his co-operation with Macrianus and his sons and his death, see c. xii. 1-3; xiv. 1; xv. 4; *Gall.*, i. 2-4; iii. 2. There is no evidence for the statement that he assumed the purple.

nathum occiso Ballistae veniam datam et tamen eum imperasse, quod nec Gallieno nec Aureolo nec Odae-
2 natho se crederet. alii adserunt privatum eum in agro suo, quem apud Daphnidem sibi compararat, in-
3 teremptum. multi et sumpsisse illum purpuram, ut more Romano imperaret, et exercitum duxisse et de se plura promisisse dixerunt, occisum autem per eos quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum, Macriani filium, quem praedam suam esse dicebat.
4 fuit vir insignis, eruditus ad gerendam rem publicam, in consiliis vehemens, in expeditionibus clarus, in provisione annonaria singularis, Valeriano sic acceptus ut eum quibusdam litteris hoc testimonio prosecutus sit :

5 "Valerianus Ragonio Claro praefecto Illyrici et Galliarum. si quid in te bonae frugis est, quam esse scio, parens Clare, dispositiones tu Ballistae perse-
6 quere. his rem publicam informa. videsne ut ille provinciales non gravet, ut illic equos contineat ubi sunt pabula, illic annonas militum mandet ubi sunt frumenta, non provincialem, non possessorem cogat illic frumenta ubi non habet dare, illic equum ubi non
7 potest pascere ? nec est ulla alia provisio melior quam ut in locis suis erogentur quae nascuntur, ne aut vehi-
8 culis aut sumptibus rem publicam gravent. Galatia frumentis abundat, referta est Thracia, plenum est Illyricum ; illic pedites conlocentur, quamquam in

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[1] Presumably Daphne near Antioch.
[2] Otherwise unknown and probably, like the letter, fictitious.

assert that when Quietus was killed by Odaenathus, Ballista was pardoned, but nevertheless took the imperial power, putting no trust in either Gallienus or Aureolus or Odaenathus. Others, again, declare that while still a commoner he was killed on the lands which he had bought for himself near Daphne.[1] Many, indeed, have said that he assumed the purple in order to rule in the Roman fashion, and that he took command of the army and made many promises on his own account, but was killed by those despatched by Aureolus for the purpose of seizing Quietus, Macrianus' son, who, Aureolus averred, was his own due prey. He was a notable man, skilled in administering the commonwealth, vehement in counsel, winning fame in campaigns, without an equal in providing for rations, and so highly esteemed by Valerian that in a certain letter he honoured him with the following testimony:

"From Valerian to Ragonius Clarus,[2] prefect of Illyricum and the provinces of Gaul. If you are a man of good judgement, my kinsman Clarus, as I know that you are, you will carry out the arrangements of Ballista. Model your government on them. Do you see how he refrains from burdening the provincials, how he keeps the horses in places where there is fodder and exacts the rations for his soldiers in places where there is grain, how he never compels the provincials or the land-holders to furnish grain where they have no supply, or horses where they have no pasture? There is no arrangement better than to exact in each place what is there produced, so that the commonwealth may not be burdened by transport or other expenses. Galatia is rich in grain, Thrace is well stocked, and Illyricum is filled with

Thracia etiam equites sine noxa provincialium hiemare possint. multum enim ex campis faeni colligitur.
9 iam vinum,[1] laridum, iam ceterae species in iis dandae
10 sunt locis, in quibus adfatim redundant. quae omnia sunt Ballistae consilia, qui ex quadam provincia unam tantum speciem praeberi iussit, quod ea redundaret, atque ab ea milites submoveri. id quod publicitus est decretum."

11 Est et alia eius epistula qua gratias Ballistae agit,[2] in qua docet sibi praecepta gubernandae rei publicae ab eodem data, gaudens quod eius consilio nullum adscripticium (id est vacantem) haberet tribunum,[3] nullum stipatorem, qui non vere aliquid ageret, nullum militem, qui non vere pugnaret.

12 Hic igitur vir in tentorio suo cubans a quodam gregario milite in Odaenathi et Gallieni gratiam dicitur
13 interemptus. de quo ipse vera non satis comperi, idcirco quod scriptores temporum de huius praefectura multa, de imperio pauca dixerunt.

VALENS

XIX. Hic vir militaris, simul etiam civilium virtutum gloria pollens, proconsulatum Achaiae dato a
2 Gallieno tunc honore gubernabat. quem Macrianus vehementer reformidans, simul quod in omni genere

[1] *iam uinum* Peter,[2] Hohl; *iam in* P. [2] *agit* Σ, Lessing, Hohl; *ait* P, Peter. [3] *tribunum* Cornelissen foll. by Hohl; *et tribunum* P, Peter.

[1] See also c. xxi. 2 and *Gall.*, ii. 2-4. He is also said in *Epit.*, 32, 4 to have declared himself emperor in Macedonia, and he is listed with Aureolus, Postumus and Ingenuus as an opponent of Gallienus by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 16, 10, but no coins of his are known.

it; so let the foot-soldiers be quartered in these regions, although in Thrace cavalry, too, can winter without damage to the provincials, since plenty of hay can be had from the fields. As for wine and bacon and other forms of food, let them be handed out in those places in which they abound in plenty. All this is the policy of Ballista, who gave orders that any province should furnish only one form of food, namely that in which it abounded, and that from it the soldiers should be kept away. This, in fact, has been officially decreed."

There is also another letter, in which he gives thanks to Ballista, showing that he himself had received from him instruction in governing the state, and expressing his pleasure that he had on his staff no supernumerary tribune (that is, one unassigned to some duty), no one in attendance who did not truly perform some office, and no soldier who was not truly a fighter.

This man, then, while resting in his tent was slain, it is said, by a certain common soldier, in order to gain the favour of Odaenathus and Gallienus. I, however, have not been able to find out sufficiently the truth concerning him, because the writers of his time have related much about his prefecture but little about his rule.

VALENS

XIX. This man,[1] a warrior and at the same time excelling in glory for his qualities as a citizen, was holding the proconsulship of Achaea, an honour conferred on him by Gallienus. Macrianus feared him greatly, both because he had learned that he was distinguished for his whole manner of life and because

vitae satis clarum norat, simul quod inimicum sibi esse invidia virtutum sciebat, misso Pisone, nobilissimae tunc et consularis familiae viro, interfici prae-
3 cepit. Valens diligentissime cavens et providens neque aliter sibi posse subveniri aestimans sumpsit imperium et brevi a militibus interemptus est.

VALENS SUPERIOR

XX. Et bene venit in mentem, ut, cum de hoc Valente loquimur, etiam de illo Valente qui superiorum principum temporibus interemptus est aliquid dicere-
2 mus. nam huius Valentis, qui sub Gallieno imperavit, avunculus magnus fuisse perhibetur. alii tantum
3 avunculum dicunt. sed par in ambobus fuit fortuna,[1] nam et ille, cum [2] paucis diebus Illyrico imperasset, occisus est.

PISO

XXI. Hic a Macriano ad interficiendum Valentem missus, ubi eum providum futurorum imperare cognovit, Thessaliam concessit atque illic paucis sibi consentientibus sumpsit imperium Thessalicusque appellatus vi [3] interemptus est, vir summae sanctitatis

[1] *forma* P. [2] *cum* om. in P; ins. by Hohl; before *ille* in Σ. [3] *ui* P; om. by Peter and Hohl.

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[1] Probably Iulius Valens Licinianus is meant, who proclaimed himself emperor in Rome during the absence of the Emperor Decius in the war against the Goths in 250, but was promptly put to death; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 29, 3; *Epit.*, 29, 5. As the biographer himself admits in c. xxxi. 8, he has no place among the rivals of Gallienus, and he is inserted solely for the purpose of increasing the number of *Tyranni*.

he knew him to be his enemy out of hatred for his virtues. He therefore despatched Piso, a member of a family then most noble and, in fact, of consular rank, with orders to put him to death. Valens, however, who kept a most careful watch, foreseeing the future and believing that there was no other means of protecting himself, seized the imperial power and soon was slain by the soldiers.

VALENS THE ELDER

XX. It has fortunately occurred to us that, in speaking of this Valens, we should make some mention also of the Valens [1] who was killed in the time of the earlier emperors. For he, it is said, was the great-uncle of the Valens who seized the power under Gallienus. Others, however, assert that he was only his uncle. But the fate of them both was alike, for he, too, was killed after he had ruled for a few days in Illyricum.

PISO

XXI. This man [2] was despatched by Macrianus to kill Valens, but on learning that he, foreseeing the future, had declared himself emperor, he withdrew into Thessaly; there by consent of a few he assumed the imperial power, taking the surname Thessalicus, but was then slain by violence. He was a man of the utmost righteousness and during his life-time he

[2] Known also from c. xix. 2 and *Gall.*, ii. 2-4, but unmentioned by any other author. That Macrianus during his march through the Balkan Peninsula (see c. xii. 12-14) sent a force into Macedonia (Achaea) is not improbable; but no coins of Piso's are known, and the story of his assumption of the power, like the "*senatus consultum*" conferring honours on a rebel (!), must be regarded as fiction.

et temporibus suis Frugi dictus et qui ex illa Pisonum familia ducere originem diceretur cui se Cicero nobili-
2 tandi causa sociaverat. hic omnibus principibus acceptissimus fuit. ipse denique Valens, qui ad eum percussores misisse perhibetur, dixisse dicitur non sibi apud deos inferos constare rationem, quod, quamvis hostem suum, Pisonem tamen iussisset occidi, virum cuius similem Romana res publica non haberet.
3 Senatus consultum de Pisone factum ad noscendam eius maiestatem libenter inserui: Die septimo kal. Iuliarum cum esset nuntiatum Pisonem a Valente interemptum, ipsum Valentem a suis occisum, Arellius Fuscus, consularis primae sententiae, qui in locum
4 Valeriani successerat, ait: "Consul, consule." cumque consultus esset, "Divinos" inquit, "honores Pisoni decerno, patres conscripti, Gallienum et Valerianum et Saloninum imperatores nostros esse id probaturos [1] confido. neque enim melior vir quisquam fuit neque
5 constantior." post quem ceteri consulti [2] statuam inter triumphales et currus quadriiugos Pisoni decre-
6 verunt. sed statua eius videtur, quadrigae autem, quae decretae fuerant, quasi transferendae ad alium
7 locum [3] positae sunt nec adhuc redditae. nam in his locis fuerunt in quibus Thermae Diocletianae sunt exaedificatae, tam aeterni nominis quam sacrati.

[1] *id probaturos* Salm.; *imperaturos* P. [2] *citer consultum* P. [3] *locum* ins. by Richter and Hohl; om. in P and Σ; *alibi* Peter.

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[1] Cicero's daughter Tullia was married to C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. They were betrothed in 67 B.C. after Cicero had been elected praetor.

[2] On such "senatus consulta" see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

[3] A writer of this name (if Salmasius' conjecture be correct) is cited in c. xxv. 2, but he may well be fictitious. Also an

was given the name Frugi, and he was said to derive his descent from that family of Pisos with which Cicero had formed an alliance for the purpose of entering the nobility.[1] He was highly esteemed by all the emperors ; in fact, Valens himself, who is said to have sent the assassins against him, declared, it is told, that never could he render account to the gods of the lower world for having given an order to put Piso to death, albeit his enemy, for his like the Roman commonwealth did not contain.

I have gladly inserted the senate's decree[2] which was passed concerning Piso, in order that his honours may be made known : On the seventh day before the Kalends of July, when word had been brought that Piso was slain by Valens and Valens himself by his own soldiers, Arellius Fuscus,[3] the consular whose right it was to give his opinion first, having succeeded to the place of Valerian, said : " Consul, consult us." And on being asked his opinion, he said, " I propose divine honours for Piso, Conscript Fathers, and I firmly believe that this will be approved by our emperors, Gallienus, Valerian, and Saloninus ; for never was there a better man or a braver." After him the others also on being consulted voted Piso a statue among the triumphant generals and also a four-horse chariot. His statue is still to be seen, but the chariot which they decreed was erected only to be moved elsewhere, and it has not yet been brought back. For it was set up in the place where the Bath of Diocletian[4] was afterwards built, destined to have a name as undying as it is revered.

Arellius Fuscus was proconsul of Asia in 274-275, according to Aur., xl. 4.

[4] Now the Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

AEMILIANUS

XXII. Est[1] hoc familiare populi Aegyptiorum ut velut[2] furiosi ac dementes de levissimis quibusque[3] ad
2 summa rei publicae pericula perducantur; saepe illi ob neglectas salutationes, locum in balneis non concessum, carnem et olera sequestrata, calceamenta servilia et cetera talia usque ad summum rei publicae periculum in[4] seditiones, ita ut armarentur contra eas
3 exercitus, pervenerunt. familiari ergo sibi furore, cum quadam die cuiusdam servus curatoris, qui Alexandriam tunc regebat, militari ob hoc caesus esset quod crepidas suas meliores esse quam militis diceret, collecta multitudo ad domum Aemiliani ducis venit atque eum omni seditionum instrumento et furore persecuta est; ictus est lapidibus, petitus est ferro,
4 nec defuit[5] ullum seditionis telum. qua re coactus Aemilianus sumpsit imperium, cum sciret sibi unde-
5 cumque pereundum. consenserunt ei Aegyptiacus
6 exercitus, maxime in Gallieni odium. nec eius ad regendam rem publicam vigor defuit, nam Thebaidem

[1] *est* Peter; *et* P. [2] *uelut* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *uel* P, Σ. [3] *quibusque* Editio Princ.; *quibus usque* P; *quibusque usque* Peter. [4] *in* ins. by Petschenig and Hohl; om. in P. [5] *defuit* Cod. Laurent. foll. by Peter; *de* P.

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[1] See also c. xxvi. 4; *Gall.*, iv. 1-2; v. 6; ix. 1; He is also mentioned in *Epit.*, 32, 4. It is known from papyri that L. Mussius Aemilianus and Aurelius Theodotos (§ 8) were prefects of Egypt, the former as late as Oct. 259, the latter in August 262. Aemilianus would seem to have held central Egypt (the Thebais) for Gallienus against Macrianus and Quietus, who were acknowledged as emperors in lower Egypt in 260. However, no genuine coins of his are known, and it is unlikely that he ever assumed the imperial power; therefore it

AEMILIANUS[1]

XXII. It is the wont of the people of Egypt that like madmen and fools they are led by the most trivial matters to become highly dangerous to the commonwealth ;[2] for merely because a greeting was omitted, or a place in the baths refused, or meat and vegetables withheld, or on account of the boots of slaves or some other such things, they have broken out into riots, even to the point of becoming highly dangerous to the state, so that troops have been armed to quell them. With their wonted madness, accordingly, on a certain occasion, when the slave of the chief magistrate[3] then governing Alexandria had been killed by a soldier for asserting that his sandals were better than the soldier's, a mob gathered together, and, coming to the house of the general Aemilianus, it assailed him with all the implements and the frenzy usual in riots ; he was pelted with stones and attacked with swords, and no kind of weapon used in a riot was lacking. And so Aemilianus was constrained to assume the imperial power, knowing well that he would have to die in any event. To this step the army in Egypt agreed, chiefly out of hatred for Gallienus. He did not, indeed, lack energy for administering public affairs. For he marched through the district of Thebes and, in fact, the whole of

is hard to understand why he should have been arrested by order of Gallienus ; see Milne in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, ix. p. 80 f.

[2] See also *Firm.*, vii. 4.

[3] On the *curator rei publicae* in the second century see note to *Marc.*, xi. 2. In the third century he became a regular official, chosen by the local *curia* but ratified by the emperor and charged with the general administration of the city with control over the finances and the power to veto municipal legislation.

totamque Aegyptum peragravit et, quatenus potuit,
7 barbarorum gentes forti auctoritate summovit. Alexander denique vel Alexandrinus (nam incertum id
8 quoque habetur) virtutum merito vocatus est. et cum contra Indos pararet expeditionem, misso Theodoto duce Gallieno iubente dedit poenas, et[1] quidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur.

9 Tacendum esse non credo quod, cum de[2] Aegypto loquor, vetus suggessit historia, simul etiam Gallieni
10 factum. qui cum Theodoto vellet imperium proconsulare decernere, a sacerdotibus est prohibitus, qui dixerunt fasces consulares ingredi Alexandriam non
11 licere. cuius rei etiam Ciceronem, cum contra Gabinium loquitur, meminisse satis novimus. denique
12 nunc[3] exstat memoria rei frequentatae. quare scire oportet Herennium Celsum, vestrum parentem, cum[4] consulatum cupit, hoc quod desiderat non licere.
13 fertur enim apud Memphim in aurea columna Aegyptiis esse litteris scriptum tunc demum Aegyptum liberam fore cum in eam venissent Romani fasces et
14 praetexta Romanorum. quod apud Proculum grammaticum, doctissimum sui temporis virum, cum de peregrinis regionibus loquitur, invenitur.

[1] *et* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *sed* P.
[2] *de* Σ, Peter; om. in. P.
[3] *nunc* Petschenig, Peter; *non* P. Hohl; om. in P.
[4] *cum* ins. by Peter and

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[1] *e.g.*, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, strangled in the Tullianum at Rome.

[2] Aulus Gabinius, who had restored Ptolemy Auletes to his throne, was, on his return to Rome in 54, attacked by Cicero in a speech now lost; see Cassius Dio, xxxix. 62, 2.

Egypt, and to the best of his powers drove back the barbarians with courage and firmness. Finally, he won by his merits the name of Alexander, or else Alexandrinus—for this is considered uncertain. But when he was making ready for a campaign against the people of India, the general Theodotus was sent against him by order of Gallienus, and so he suffered punishment, for it is related that, like the captives of old,[1] he was strangled in prison.

Now, since I am speaking of Egypt, I think I must not fail to relate what the history of former times has suggested and, in connection therewith, a deed of Gallienus. For when he wished to confer proconsular power on Theodotus, the priests forbade it, saying that it was not lawful for the consular fasces to be brought into Alexandria. This, we know well enough, was mentioned by Cicero in his speech against Gabinius,[2] and, in fact, it is still remembered that this practice was maintained. Therefore, your[3] kinsman Herennius Celsus,[4] in seeking the consulship, ought to know that what he desires is not lawful. For at Memphis, they say, it was written on a golden column in Egyptian letters that Egypt would at last regain its freedom when the Roman fasces and the Roman bordered toga had been brought into the land. This may be found in Proculus[5] the grammarian, the most learned man of his time, in the place where he tells of foreign countries.

[3] On the person addressed see Vol. I., Intro., p. xiv.

[4] Otherwise unknown.

[5] Possibly either Eutychius Proculus (*Marc.*, ii. 3) or Proklos, the author of a χρηστομάθεια γραμματική cited by Photios, but more probably, like the "inscription," fictitious.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

SATURNINUS

XXIII. Optimus ducum Gallieni temporis, sed
2 Valeriano delectus, Saturninus fuit. hic quoque, cum dissolutionem Gallieni, pernoctantis in publico, ferre non posset et milites non exemplo imperatoris sui sed suo regeret, ab exercitibus sumpsit imperium, vir prudentiae singularis, gravitatis insignis, vitae amabilis,
3 victoriarum barbaris etiam ubique notarum. hic ea die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio, contione adhibita dixisse fertur: "Commilitones, bonum ducem perdidistis et malum principem fecistis."
4 denique cum multa strenue in imperio fecisset, quod esset severior et gravior militibus ab iisdem ipsis a
5 quibus factus fuerat interemptus est. huius insigne est quod convivio discumbere milites, ne inferiora denudarentur,[1] cum sagis iussit, hieme gravibus, aestate perlucidis.

TETRICUS SENIOR

XXIV. Interfecto Victorino et eius filio mater eius Victoria sive Vitruvia Tetricum senatorem populi Romani praesidatum in Gallia regentem ad imperium

[1] *denudarentur* Σ, Peter, Hohl; *nudarentur* P.

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[1] Mentioned in *Gall.*, ix. 1 and also in *Firm.*, xi. 1, where a careful distinction is made between him and the historical Saturninus, a pretender of the time of Probus. In the lack of any evidence for his existence he may be supposed to be merely an invention of the biographer's.

[2] C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus Augustus, according to his inscriptions and coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 91-115. His elevation to power after the death of Victorinus is mentioned also in c. v. 3 and xxxi. 2, and Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 33, 14, and further details

SATURNINUS

XXIII. The best of the generals of the time of Gallienus, though, in fact, he was chosen by Valerian, was Saturninus.[1] He also, being unable to endure the loose ways of Gallienus, who revelled all night in public places, and preferring to command the soldiers in his own way rather than in that of his emperor, accepted the imperial power from the army. He was a man unequalled in wisdom, outstanding in dignity, lovable in his ways, and because of his victories well known everywhere, even among the barbarians. On the day on which the soldiers clothed him with the imperial robe he called together an assembly, it is related, and said: "Fellow-soldiers, you have lost a good general and made a bad emperor." Finally, after doing many vigorous deeds during his rule, merely because he was too severe and too harsh to the soldiers he was killed by those very men who had made him emperor. He is famous for having commanded the soldiers, when reclining at table, to wear military cloaks in order that their lower limbs might not be bared, heavy ones in winter and very light ones in summer.

TETRICUS THE ELDER.[2]

XXIV. After Victorinus[3] and his son were slain, his mother Victoria (or Vitruvia) urged Tetricus, a Roman senator then holding the governorship of

of his career are given by Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. The story concerning him is fairly consistent and in the main perhaps correct, but he does not belong in the list of the pretenders of the time of Gallienus, for he assumed the imperial power in 270 at the earliest.

[3] See c. vi.

hortata, quod eius erat, ut plerique loquuntur, adfinis, Augustum appellari fecit filiumque eius Caesarem nun-
2 cupavit. et cum multa Tetricus feliciterque gessisset diuque imperasset, ab Aureliano victus, cum militum suorum impudentiam et procacitatem ferre non posset, volens se gravissimo principi et severissimo dedit.
3 versus denique illius fertur, quem furtim [1] ad Aurelianum scripserat :

" Eripe me his, invicte, malis."

4 Quare cum Aurelianus nihil simplex neque mite aut tranquillum facile cogitaret, senatorem populi Romani eundemque consularem, qui iure praesidali omnes Gallias rexerat, per triumphum duxit, eodem tempore quo et Zenobiam Odaenathi uxorem cum filiis minori-
5 bus Odaenathi, Herenniano et Timolao. pudore tamen victus vir nimium severus eum quem triumphaverat correctorem totius Italiae fecit, id est Campaniae, Samnii, Lucaniae, Bruttiorum, Apuliae, Calabriae, Etruriae atque Umbriae, Piceni et Flaminiae omnisque annonariae regionis, ac Tetricum non solum vivere, sed etiam in summa dignitate manere

[1] *furtim* Peter ; *statim* P, Hohl.

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[1] More correctly, Aquitania, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 33, 14 and Eutropius, ix. 10 ; according to the latter he was acclaimed emperor by the soldiers at Bordeaux.

[2] *Apud Catalaunos* (Châlons-sur-Marne) according to Eutropius, ix. 13, 1, who tells the same story of his surrender. Further details are given by Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 4-5.

[3] *Aeneid*, vi. 365.

[4] In 274 ; cf. c. xxx. 24-26 ; *Aur.*, xxxii. 4 ; xxxiv. 2-3.

[5] See c. xxvii.-xxviii.

[6] *Corrector Lucaniae*, according to *Aur.*, xxxix. 1 ; Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 5 ; *Epit.*, 35, 7 ; Eutropius, ix. 13, 2. It

Gaul,[1] to take the imperial power, for the reason, many relate, that he was her kinsman; she then caused him to be entitled Augustus and bestowed on his son the name of Caesar. But after Tetricus had done many deeds with success and had ruled for a long time he was defeated[2] by Aurelian, and, being unable to bear the impudence and shamelessness of his soldiers, he surrendered of his own free will to this prince most harsh and severe. In fact, a quotation of his is cited, which he secretly sent in writing to Aurelian:—

"Save me, O hero unconquered, from these my misfortunes."[3]

And so Aurelian, who did not readily plan aught that was guileless or merciful or peaceful, led this man, though he was a senator of the Roman people and a consular and had ruled the provinces of Gaul with a governor's powers, in his triumphal procession at the same time[4] as Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, and the younger sons of Odaenathus, Herennianus and Timolaus.[5] Aurelian, nevertheless, exceedingly stern though he was, overcome by a sense of shame, made Tetricus, whom he had led in his triumph, supervisor over the whole of Italy,[6] that is, over Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Etruria and Umbria, Picenum and the Flaminian district, and the entire grain-bearing region, and suffered him not only to retain his life

seems probable that this is the more correct version and that the statement in the text is exaggerated, like that in § 4, although the earliest *corrector* of a district of Italy is found in an inscription of 283-284 and occasional instances of *correctores* of all Italy are found earlier; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, iv. 1651 f.

passus est, cum illum saepe collegam, nonnumquam commilitonem, aliquando etiam imperatorem appellaret.

TETRICUS IUNIOR

XXV. Hic puerulus a Victoria Caesar est appellatus, cum illa mater castrorum ab exercitu nuncupata
2 esset. qui et ipse cum patre per triumphum ductus postea omnibus senatoriis honoribus functus est inlibato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit,
3 ut Arellius[1] Fuscus dicit, semper insignis. narrabat avus meus sibi familiarem fuisse neque quemquam illi ab Aureliano aut postea ab aliis principibus esse
4 praelatum. Tetricorum domus hodieque exstat in Monte Caelio inter duos lucos contra Iseum Metellinum, pulcherrima, in qua Aurelianus pictus est utrique praetextam tribuens et senatoriam dignitatem, accipiens ab his sceptrum, coronam, cycladem. pictura est[2] de musivo,[3] quam cum dedicassent, Aurelianum ipsum dicuntur duo Tetrici adhibuisse convivio.

[1] *Arellius* Salm., Hohl; *Dagellius* P, susp. by Peter. [2] So Peter foll. by Hohl; *cycli picturiae* P. [3] *museo* P, Peter, Hohl.

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[1] C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus Caesar, according to his inscriptions and coins; see Cohen, vi.[2] pp. 118-129. According to *Aur.*, xxxiv. 2 he was acclaimed imperator, and some of his coins bear the title Augustus, but as none of these portrays him with the laurel it is not probable that he ever had this title.

[2] See note to c. xxi. 3.

[3] The citation from the writer's father or grandfather, found here and in *Aur.*, 43, 2; *Firm.*, ix. 4; xv. 4; *Car.* xiii. 3; xiv. 1;

but also to remain in the highest position, calling him frequently colleague, sometimes fellow-soldier, and sometimes even emperor.

TETRICUS THE YOUNGER

XXV. He,[1] when a little lad, received the name of Caesar from Victoria when she herself had been entitled by the army Mother of the Camp. He was, furthermore, led in triumph along with his father, but later he enjoyed all the honours of a senator; nor was his inheritance diminished, and, indeed, he passed it on to his descendants, and was ever, as Arellius Fuscus[2] reports, a man of distinction. My grandfather[3] used to declare that he was a friend of his own, and that never was any one given preference over him either by Aurelian or by any of the later emperors. The house of the Tetrici is still standing to-day, situated on the Caelian Hill between the two groves and facing the Temple of Isis built by Metellus;[4] and a most beautiful one it is, and in it Aurelian is depicted bestowing on both the Tetrici the bordered toga and the rank of senator and receiving from them a sceptre, a chaplet, and an embroidered robe. This picture is in mosaic, and it is said that the two Tetrici, when they dedicated it, invited Aurelian himself to a banquet.

xv. 1, is merely a device modelled after similar citations made by Suetonius, *Otho*, x. 1 and *Cal.*, xix. 3.

[4] A temple of Isis stood on the northern side of the Caelian Hill near the modern Via Labicana, and, although we know of no connection between it and any Metellus, it may be the temple which the author has in mind.

TREBELLIANUS

XXVI. Pudet iam persequi quanti sub Gallieno fuerint tyranni vitio pestis illius, si quidem erat in eo ea luxuria ut rebelles plurimos mereretur et ea crude-
2 litas ut iure timeretur. qua erat[1] et in Trebellianum factum in Isauria principem, ipsis Isauris sibi ducem quaerentibus. quem cum alii archipiratam vocassent, ipse se imperatorem appellavit. monetam etiam cudi
3 iussit. palatium in arce Isauriae constituit. qui quidem cum se in intima et tuta Isaurorum loca munitus difficultatibus locorum et montibus contulisset,
4 aliquamdiu apud Cilicas imperavit. sed per Gallieni ducem Camsisoleum, natione Aegyptium, fratrem Theodoti qui Aemilianum ceperat, ad campum de-
5 ductus victus est et occisus. neque tamen postea Isauri timore ne in eos Gallienus saeviret, ad aequalitatem perduci quavis principum humanitate
6 potuerunt. denique post Trebellianum pro barbaris habentur; etenim[2] in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes
7 includitur, locis defensa non hominibus. nam sunt non statura decori, non virtute graves, non instructi

[1] *qua erat* Eyssenhardt foll. by Hohl; *quare* P, Σ, Peter.
[2] *etenim* Petschenig foll. by Hohl; *et cum* P, Σ, Peter.

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[1] Trebellianus is known only from this "*vita*," for the *Trebellianus* mentioned briefly in Eutropius, ix. 8, 1 is evidently an error for Regalianus. It is hardly likely that this "archipirata" ever assumed the purple.

[2] A mountainous district in southern Asia Minor, N.W. of Cilicia, and notorious as the haunt of brigands.

[3] No coins of his are known. It appears to have been a favourite device of these biographers to increase the importance of pretenders by asserting that they issued coins; cf. c. xxxi. 3; *Firm.*, ii. 1.

[4] Otherwise unknown. On Theodotus see c. xxii. 8.

TREBELLIANUS

XXVI. I am by this time ashamed to tell how many tyrants there were in the reign of Gallienus, all on account of the vices of that pestiferous man, for such, indeed, were his excesses that he deserved to have many rebels rise up against him, and such his cruelty that he was rightly regarded with fear. This cruelty he showed also toward Trebellianus,[1] who was made ruler in Isauria[2]—for the Isaurians desired a leader for themselves. He, though others dubbed him arch-pirate, gave himself the title of emperor. He even gave orders to strike coins[3] and he set up an imperial palace in a certain Isaurian stronghold. Then, when he had betaken himself into the inmost and safest parts of Isauria, where he was protected by the natural difficulty of the ground and by the mountains, he ruled for some time among the Cilicians. Camsisoleus,[4] however, Gallienus' general and an Egyptian by race, the brother of that Theodotus who had captured Aemilianus, brought him down to the plains and then defeated and slew him. Never afterwards, however, was it possible to persuade the Isaurians, fearing that Gallienus might vent his anger upon them, to come down to the level ground, not even by any offer of kindness on the part of the emperors. In fact, since the time of Trebellianus they have been considered barbarians; for indeed their district, though in the midst of lands belonging to the Romans, is guarded by a novel kind of defence, comparable to a frontier-wall, for it is protected not by men but by the nature of the country. For the Isaurians are not of noble stature or distinguished courage, not well provided with arms or wise in counsel, but they are kept

armis, non consiliis prudentes, sed hoc solo securi quod in editis positi adiri nequeunt. quos quidem divus Claudius paene ad hoc perduxerat ut a suis semotos locis in Cilicia conlocaret, daturus uni ex amicissimis omnem Isaurorum possessionem, ne quid ex ea postea rebellionis oreretur.

HERENNIANUS

XXVII. Odaenathus moriens duos parvulos reliquit, Herennianum et fratrem eius Timolaum, quorum nomine Zenobia usurpato sibi imperio diutius quam feminam decuit rem publicam obtinuit, parvulos Romani imperatoris habitu praeferens purpuratos eosdemque adhibens contionibus, quas illa viriliter frequentavit, Didonem et Semiramidem et Cleopatram
2 sui generis principem inter cetera praedicans. sed de horum exitu incertum est; multi enim dicunt eos ab Aureliano interemptos, multi morte sua esse consumptos, si quidem Zenobiae posteri etiam nunc Romae inter nobiles manent.[1]

TIMOLAUS

XXVIII. De hoc ea putamus digna notione quae
2 de fratre sunt dicta. unum tamen est quod eum a

[1] *manent* Σ, Hohl; *maneat* P.

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[1] There is no mention of this in connection with Claudius, but a similar measure was employed by Probus; see *Prob.*, xvi. 6.

[2] Herennianus and Timolaus, mentioned in this series of *vitae* as the sons of Odaenathus and Zenobia and as ruling with their mother (*Gall.*, xiii. 2; c. xxx. 2), are known from no other source. The son of Odaenathus who succeeded him in 266-267, and reigned jointly with Zenobia, was Vaballathus Athenodorus;

safe by this alone that, dwelling, as they do, on the heights, no one can approach them. The Deified Claudius did, it is true, almost persuade them to leave their native lands and settle in Cilicia,[1] planning to give the entire possessions of the Isaurians to one of his most loyal friends in order that never again might a rebellion arise therein.

HERENNIANUS

XXVII. Odaenathus, when he died, left two little sons, Herennianus and his brother Timolaus,[2] in whose name Zenobia seized the imperial power, holding the government longer than was meet for a woman. These boys she displayed clad in the purple robe of a Roman emperor and she brought them to public gatherings which she attended in the fashion of a man, holding up, among other examples, Dido and Semiramis, and Cleopatra, the founder of her family.[3] The manner of their death, however, is uncertain; for many maintain that they were killed by Aurelian, and many that they died a natural death, since Zenobia's descendants still remain among the nobles of Rome.

TIMOLAUS

XXVIII. With regard to him we consider only those things to be worth knowing which have been told concerning his brother. One thing there is,

[1] see note to c. xxx. 2. Even the author of the *vita* of Aurelian (see xxxviii. 1) knew of him as his father's successor. If these two princes existed at all, they were younger sons who never ruled.

[2] See c. xxx. 2.

fratre separat, quod tanti fuit ardoris ad studia Romana ut brevi consecutus quae insinuaverat grammaticus esse dicatur, potuisse quin etiam summum Latinorum rhetorem facere.

CELSUS

XXIX. Occupatis partibus Gallicanis, orientalibus, quin etiam Ponti, Thraciarum et Illyrici, dum Gallienus popinatur et balneis ac lenonibus deputat vitam, Afri quoque auctore Vibio Passieno, proconsule Africae, et Fabio Pomponiano, duce limitis Libyci, Celsum imperatorem appellaverunt peplo deae Caelestis ornatum. 2 hic privatus ex tribunis in Africa positus in agris suis vivebat, sed ea iustitia et corporis magnitudine ut 3 dignus videretur imperio. quare creatus per quandam mulierem, Gallienam nomine, consobrinam Gallieni, septimo imperii die interemptus est atque adeo etiam 4 inter obscuros principes vix relatus est. corpus eius a canibus consumptum est Siccensibus, qui Gallieno fidem servaverant, perurgentibus, et novo iniuriae genere imago in crucem sublata persultante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse Celsus videretur adfixus.

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[1] Mentioned nowhere else except in the spurious letter in *Claud.*, vii. 4, and probably an invention of the biographer's. Nothing is known of either Passienus or Pomponianus, or the alleged murderess, whose existence Hubert Goltzius attempted to prove by forging coins bearing the legend *Licin. Galliena Aug.*; see Eckhel, *D.N.*, vii. p. 412 f.

[2] See note to *Pert.*, iv. 2.

[3] Mod. el-Kef in western Tunisia.

however, which distinguishes him from his brother, that is, that such was his eagerness for Roman studies that in a short time, it is said, he made good the statement of his teacher of letters, who had said that he was in truth able to make him the greatest of Latin rhetoricians.

CELSUS

XXIX. When the various parts of the empire were seized, namely Gaul, the Orient, and even Pontus, Thrace and Illyricum, and while Gallienus was spending his time in public-houses and giving up his life to bathing and pimps, the Africans also, at the instance of Vibius Passienus, the proconsul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, the general in command of the Libyan frontier, created an emperor, namely Celsus,[1] decking him with the robe of the goddess Caelestis.[2] This man, a commoner and formerly a tribune stationed in Africa, was then living on his own estates, but such was his reputation for justice and such the size of his body that he seemed worthy of the imperial power. Therefore he was made emperor, but on the seventh day of his rule he was killed by a woman named Galliena, a cousin of Gallienus, and so he has scarcely found a place even among the least known of the emperors. His body was devoured by dogs, for such was the command of the people of Sicca,[3] who had remained faithful to Gallienus, and then with a new kind of insult his image was set up on a cross, while the mob pranced about, as though they were looking at Celsus himself affixed to a gibbet.

THE THIRTY PRETENDERS

ZENOBIA

XXX. Omnis iam consumptus est pudor, si quidem fatigata re publica eo usque perventum est ut Gallieno nequissime agente optime etiam mulieres
2 imperarent. et quidem peregrina enim,[1] nomine Zenobia, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, quae se de Cleopatrarum Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odaenathum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu Didonis [2] ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius
3 quam femineus sexus patiebatur imperavit. si quidem Gallieno adhuc regente rem publicam regale mulier superba munus obtinuit et Claudio bellis Gothicis occupato vix denique ab Aureliano victa et triumphata concessit in iura Romana.
4 Exstat epistula Aureliani, quae captivae mulieri testimonium fert. nam cum a quibusdam reprehenderetur, quod mulierem veluti ducem aliquem vir fortissimus triumphasset, missis ad senatum populumque Romanum
5 litteris hac se adtestatione defendit: "Audio, patres

[1] *enim* P, def. by Tidner; *etiam* Peter; <*peregrina*>*enim*, Petschenig, Hohl. [2] *Didonis* Salm.; *donis* P.

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[1] Septimia Zenobia, wife of Septimius Odaenathus. In the inscriptions erected to her during her rule at Palmyra she is called ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασίλισσα (*O.G.I.* 648-650) and in one (*O.G.I.* 647) she actually has the title of Σεβαστή (Augusta), but, as has been pointed out by Mommsen, this is probably an honorary designation, and her son and co-ruler Vaballathus Athenodorus (see note to c. xxvii. 1) bore, at first, only the titles of *consul*, *rex* and *dux imperator Romanorum*, and there is no reason to believe that she actually claimed the imperial power. For her invasion

ZENOBIA

XXX. Now all shame is exhausted, for in the weakened state of the commonwealth things came to such a pass that, while Gallienus conducted himself in the most evil fashion, even women ruled most excellently. For, in fact, even a foreigner, Zenobia [1] by name, about whom much has already been said, boasting herself to be of the family of the Cleopatras and the Ptolemies,[2] proceeded upon the death of her husband Odaenathus to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle; and arrayed in the robes of Dido and even assuming the diadem, she held the imperial power in the name of her sons Herennianus and Timolaus,[3] ruling longer than could be endured from one of the female sex. For this proud woman performed the functions of a monarch both while Gallienus was ruling and afterwards when Claudius was busied with the war against the Goths,[4] and in the end could scarcely be conquered by Aurelian himself, under whom she was led in triumph and submitted to the sway of Rome.

There is still in existence a letter of Aurelian's which bears testimony concerning this woman, then in captivity. For when some found fault with him, because he, the bravest of men, had led a woman in triumph, as though she were a general, he sent a letter to the senate and the Roman people, defending himself by the following justification: "I have heard,

of Egypt, see *Claud.*, xi. 1. On Aurelian's campaign against her and his subsequent triumph, see *Aur.*, xxii.-xxx.; xxxiii-xxxiv.

[2] So also c. xxvii. 2. It was, of course, a fiction.

[3] See note to c. xxvii. 1.

[4] See *Claud.*, vi. xi.

conscripti, mihi obici, quod non virile munus impleverim Zenobiam triumphando. ne illi, qui me reprehendunt, satis laudarent, si scirent quae illa sit[1] mulier, quam prudens in consiliis, quam constans in dispositionibus, quam erga milites gravis, quam larga, cum necessitas postulet, quam tristis, cum severitas 6 poscat. possum dicere illius esse quod Odaenathus Persas vicit ac fugato Sapore Ctesiphonta usque per- 7 venit. possum adserere tanto apud orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commoverent. 8 nec ego illi vitam conservassem, nisi eam scissem multum Romanae rei publicae profuisse, cum sibi vel 9 liberis suis orientis servaret imperium. sibi ergo habeant propriarum venena linguarum ii quibus nihil 10 placet. nam si vicisse ac triumphasse feminam non est decorum, quid de Gallieno loquuntur, in cuius 11 contemptu haec bene rexit imperium ? quid de divo Claudio, sancto ac venerabili duce, qui eam, quod ipse Gothicis esset expeditionibus occupatus, passus esse dicitur imperare ? idque consulte[2] ac prudenter, ut illa servante orientalis fines imperii ipse securius quae 12 instituerat perpetraret." haec oratio indicat quid iudicii Aurelianus habuerit de Zenobia.

Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur ut ne virum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis[3] conceptionibus. nam

[1] *illa sit* Peter, Hohl; *illas* P. [2] *consulte* Paucker, Cornelissen, Peter[2]; *occulte* P, Peter[1]. [3] *temptandis* Cornelissen, Hohl; *temptatis* P, Peter.

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[1] See c. xv. 3-4.

Conscript Fathers, that men are reproaching me for having performed an unmanly deed in leading Zenobia in triumph. But in truth those very persons who find fault with me now would accord me praise in abundance, did they but know what manner of woman she is, how wise in counsels, how steadfast in plans, how firm toward the soldiers, how generous when necessity calls, and how stern when discipline demands. I might even say that it was her doing that Odaenathus defeated the Persians and, after putting Sapor to flight, advanced all the way to Ctesiphon.[1] I might add thereto that such was the fear that this woman inspired in the peoples of the East and also the Egyptians that neither Arabs nor Saracens nor Armenians ever moved against her. Nor would I have spared her life, had I not known that she did a great service to the Roman state when she preserved the imperial power in the East for herself, or for her children. Therefore let those whom nothing pleases keep the venom of their own tongues to themselves. For if it is not meet to vanquish a woman and lead her in triumph, what are they saying of Gallienus, in contempt of whom she ruled the empire well? What of the Deified Claudius, that revered and honoured leader? For he, because he was busied with his campaigns against the Goths, suffered her, or so it is said, to hold the imperial power, doing it of purpose and wisely, in order that he himself, while she kept guard over the eastern frontier of the empire, might the more safely complete what he had taken in hand." This speech shows what opinion Aurelian held concerning Zenobia.

Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not know even her own husband save for the purpose

cum semel concubuisset, exspectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum
13 potestatem quaerendis liberis dabat. vixit regali pompa. more magis Persico adorata est, regum
14 more Persarum convivata est. imperatorum more Romanorum ad contiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam cochlide veluti fibula muliebri adstricta,
15 bracchio saepe nudo. fuit vultu subaquilo, fusci coloris, oculis supra modum vigentibus [1] nigris, spiritus divini, venustatis incredibilis. tantus candor in dentibus ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere,
16 non dentes. vox clara et virilis. severitas, ubi necessitas postulabat, tyrannorum, bonorum principum clementia, ubi pietas requirebat. larga prudenter, conservatrix thesaurorum ultra femineum
17 modum. usa vehiculo carpentario, raro pilento, equo saepius. fertur autem vel tria vel quattuor milia
18 frequenter cum peditibus ambulasse. venata [2] est Hispanorum cupiditate. bibit saepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria; bibit et cum Persis atque
19 Armeniis, ut eos vinceret. usa est vasis aureis gemmatis ad convivia, iam usa [3] Cleopatranis. in ministerio eunuchos gravioris aetatis habuit, puellas

[1] *uigentibus* Σ, Peter; *ingentibus* P. [2] *uenata* Kiessling, Peter; *nata* P. [3] So Editor; *conuiuicimusa* Pb; *conuiuia non nisi* Peter; *conuiuia, usa* Hohl.

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[1] Found in Arabia, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 194, and often of such great size that they were used by eastern kings on the frontals of their horses and as ornamental pendants.

of conception. For when once she had lain with him, she would refrain until the time of menstruation to see if she were pregnant; if not, she would again grant him an opportunity of begetting children. She lived in regal pomp. It was rather in the manner of the Persians that she received worship and in the manner of the Persian kings that she banqueted; but it was in the manner of a Roman emperor that she came forth to public assemblies, wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems hanging from the lower edge, while its centre was fastened with the jewel called cochlis,[1] used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare. Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth. Her voice was clear and like that of a man. Her sternness, when necessity demanded, was that of a tyrant, her clemency, when her sense of right called for it, that of a good emperor. Generous with prudence, she conserved her treasures beyond the wont of women. She made use of a carriage, and rarely of a woman's coach, but more often she rode a horse; it is said, moreover, that frequently she walked with her foot-soldiers for three or four miles. She hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard. She often drank with her generals, though at other times she refrained, and she drank, too, with the Persians and the Armenians, but only for the purpose of getting the better of them. At her banquets she used vessels of gold and jewels, and she even used those that had been Cleopatra's. As servants she had eunuchs of advanced age and but

nimis raras. filios Latine loqui iusserat, ita[1] ut Graece vel difficile vel raro loquerentur. ipsa Latini sermonis non usque quaque gnara, sed ut loqueretur pudore cohibito[2]; loquebatur et Aegyptiace ad perfectum modum. historiae Alexandrinae atque orientalis ita perita ut eam epitomasse dicatur; Latinam autem Graece legerat.

Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset, "Quid est,[3] Zenobia? ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?" illa dixisse fertur: "Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui vincis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putavi. Victoriam mei similem credens in consortium regni venire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optavi."

ducta est igitur per triumphum ea specie ut nihil pompabilius populo Romano videretur. iam primum ornata gemmis ingentibus, ita ut ornamentorum onere laboraret. fertur enim mulier fortissima saepissime restitisse, cum diceret se gemmarum onera ferre non posse. vincti erant praeterea pedes auro, manus etiam catenis aureis, nec collo aureum vinculum deerat, quod scurra Persicus praeferebat. huic vita[4] ab Aureliano concessa est, ferturque vixisse cum liberis matronae iam more Romanae data sibi posses-

[1] *ita* Peter; *id* P. [2] *cohibito* Peter; *cohibita* P, Hohl. [3] *est* Σ, Mommsen, Hohl; *es* P corr.; *O* Peter. [4] *uita* ins. by Walter and Hohl; om. in P.

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[1] See c. xxxi. [2] Cf. *Aur.*, xxxiv. 3.

very few maidens. She ordered her sons to talk Latin, so that, in fact, they spoke Greek but rarely and with difficulty. She herself was not wholly conversant with the Latin tongue, but nevertheless, mastering her timidity she would speak it; Egyptian, on the other hand, she spoke very well. In the history of Alexandria and the Orient she was so well versed that she even composed an epitome, so it is said; Roman history, however, she read in Greek.

When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: "Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?" To this she replied, it is said: "You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria[1] to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit." And so she was led in triumph with such magnificence that the Roman people had never seen a more splendid parade. For, in the first place, she was adorned with gems so huge that she laboured under the weight of her ornaments; for it is said that this woman, courageous though she was, halted very frequently, saying that she could not endure the load of her gems. Furthermore, her feet were bound with shackles of gold and her hands with golden fetters, and even on her neck she wore a chain of gold, the weight of which was borne by a Persian buffoon.[2] Her life was granted her by Aurelian, and they say that thereafter she lived with her children in the manner of a Roman matron on an estate that had been presented to her at Tibur, which even to

sione in Tiburti, quae hodieque Zenobia dicitur, non longe ab Hadriani palatio atque ab eo loco cui nomen est Conchae.

VICTORIA

XXXI. Non tam digna res erat ut etiam Vitruvia sive Victoria in litteras mitteretur, nisi Gallieni mores hoc facerent ut memoria dignae etiam mulieres cen-
2 serentur. Victoria enim, ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos, Postumum, deinde Lollianum, Marium etiam, quem principem milites nuncupaverant, interemptos, Tetricum, de quo superius dictum est, ad imperium hortata est, ut virile semper facinus auderet. insignita est praeterea hoc titulo, ut cas-
3 trorum se diceret matrem. cusi sunt eius nummi aerei, aurei et argentei, quorum hodieque forma
4 exstat apud Treviros. quae quidem non diutius vixit. nam Tetrico imperante, ut plerique loquuntur, occisa, ut alii adserunt, fatali necessitate consumpta.

5 Haec sunt quae de triginta tyrannis dicenda videbantur. quos ego in unum volumen idcirco contuli, ne, de singulis si[1] singula quaeque narrarem, nascerentur indigna fastidia et ea quae ferre lector non

[1] *si* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] See note to *Hadr.*, xxvi. 5.

[2] Frequently mentioned as responsible, after the death of her son Victorinus, for the bestowal of the imperial power, first on her grandson, then on the various pretenders in Gaul; see c. v. 3; vi. 3; vii. 1; xxiv. 1; xxv. 1; Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, xxxiii. 14. The name Vitruvia, given as an alternate form in the *Tyranni Triginta* and in *Claud.*, iv. 4, seems to have no warrant.

this day is still called Zenobia, not far from the palace of Hadrian [1] or from that place which bears the name of Concha.

VICTORIA

XXXI. It would, indeed, be an unworthy thing that Vitruvia also, or rather Victoria,[2] should be given a place in letters, had not the ways of Gallienus brought it about that women, too, should be deemed worthy of mention. For Victoria, after seeing her son and grandson slain by the soldiers, and also Postumus, then Lollianus, and Marius [3] too (whom the soldiers had named emperor) all put to death, urged Tetricus, of whom I have spoken above,[4] to seize the power, solely that she might always be daring the deeds of a man. She was distinguished, furthermore, by her title, for she called herself Mother of the Camp.[5] Coins, too, were struck in her name,[6] of bronze and gold and silver, and even to-day the type is still in existence among the Treviri.[7] She did not, indeed, live long; for during Tetricus' rule she was slain, some say, while others assert that she succumbed to the destiny of fate.

This is all that I have deemed worthy of being related concerning the thirty pretenders, all of whom I have gathered into one book, lest the telling of each single detail about each one singly might bring about an aversion that is undeserved and not to be

[2] See c. iii.; v.; viii. [4] See c. xxiv.

[5] The title Mater Castrorum, first borne by Faustina (see *Marc.*, xxvi. 8), was regularly used by the later empresses.

[6] None are known; see note to c. xxvi. 2.

[7] Their capital was the modern Trier (Augusta Trevirorum).

6 posset. nunc ad Claudium principem redeo. de quo speciale mihi volumen quamvis breve merito vitae illius videtur edendum addito fratre singulari viro, ita ut de familia tam sancta et tam nobili saltem[1] pauca referantur.

7 Studiose in medio feminas posui ad ludibrium Gallieni, quo nihil prodigiosius passa est Romana res publica, duos etiam nunc tyrannos quasi extra numerum, quod alieni essent temporis, additurus, unum qui fuit Maximini temporibus, alterum qui Claudii, ut tyrannorum triginta vitae[2] hoc volumine 8 tenerentur. quaeso, qui expletum iam librum acceperas, boni consulas atque hos volumini tuo volens addas, quos ego, quem ad modum Valentem superiorem huic volumini, sic post Claudium et Aurelianum iis qui inter Tacitum et Diocletianum fuerunt addere 9 destinaveram. sed errorem meum memor historiae 10 diligentia tuae eruditionis avertit. habeo igitur gratiam, quod titulum meum prudentiae tuae benignitas implevit. nemo in Templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos, tyrannas videlicet vel tyrannides, ut ipsi de me solent cum risu et ioco[3] 11 iactitare, posuisse. habent integrum numerum ex 12 arcanis historiae in meas litteras datum. Titus enim et Censorinus addentur,[4] quorum unus, ut dixi, sub

[1] *saltim* Σ; *saluti* P. [2] *uitae* Peter; *uiri* P, Hohl. [3] *cum risu et ioco* transp. by Peter; after *tyrannos* in P. [4] *addentur* sugg. by Peter[2]; om. in P.

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[1] Quintillus; see *Claud.*, xii.

[2] See c. xx.

[3] Built, with an enclosing forum, by Vespasian, N.E. of the Forum Romanum. Adjacent to it was the Bibliotheca Templi Pacis, apparently a resort of critics.

borne by my readers. Now I will return to the Emperor Claudius. Concerning him I think I should publish a special book, short though it be, for his manner of life deserves it, and I must say something, besides, about that peerless man, his brother,[1] in order that at least a few facts may be told of so righteous and noble a family.

It was with deliberate purpose that I included the women, namely that I might make a mock of Gallienus, a greater monster than whom the Roman state has never endured; now I will add two pretenders besides, supernumeraries, so to speak, for they lived each at a different period, since one was of the time of Maximinus, the other of the time of Claudius, my purpose being to include in this book the lives of thirty pretenders. I ask you, accordingly, you who have received this book now completed, to look on my plan with favour and to consent to add to your volume these two, whom I had purposed to include after Claudius and Aurelian among those who lived between Tacitus and Diocletian, just as I included the elder Valens[2] in this present book. This error on my part, however, your accurate learning, mindful of history, prevented. And so I am grateful that the kindliness of your wisdom has filled out my title. Now no one in the Temple of Peace[3] will say that among the pretenders I included women, female pretenders, forsooth, or, rather, pretendresses—for this they are wont to bandy about concerning me with merriment and jests. They have now the number complete, gathered into my writings from the secret stores of history. For I will add to my work Titus and Censorinus, the former of whom, as

Maximino, alter sub Claudio fuit, qui ambo ab iisdem militibus a quibus purpura velati fuerant interempti sunt.

TITUS

XXXII. Docet Dexippus, nec Herodianus tacet omnesque qui talia legenda posteris tradiderunt, Titum, tribunum Maurorum, qui a Maximino inter privatos relictus fuerat, timore violentae mortis, ut illi[1] dicunt, invitum vero et a militibus coactum, ut plerique adserunt, imperasse, atque hunc intra paucos dies post vindicatam defectionem, quam consularis vir Magnus Maximino paraverat, a suis militibus interemptum. imperasse autem mensibus 2 sex. fuit hic vir de primis erga rem publicam domi forisque laudabilis, sed in imperio parum 3 felix. alii dicunt ab Armeniis sagittariis, quos Maximinus ut Alexandrinos et oderat et offenderat, 4 principem factum. nec mireris tantam esse varie- 5 tatem de homine, cuius vix nomen agnoscitur. huius uxor Calpurnia fuit, sancta et venerabilis femina de genere Caesoninorum, id est Pisonum, quam maiores nostri univiriam sacerdotem inter sacratissimas feminas

[1] *alii* P, def. by Lenze.

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[1] On this "pretender," called Quartinus by Herodian, vii. 1, 9-10, see *Maxim.*, xi. 1-4 and note.

[2] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

[3] *Herodian*, vii. 1, 9.

[4] See *Maxim.*, x.

[5] According to *Maxim.*, xi. 1 and Herodian *l.c.*, they were Osroënians.

[6] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul in 148 B.C., bequeathed his second surname to his descendants, among whom was the consul of 58 B.C., made famous by Cicero's invective,

I have said, lived under Maximinus and the latter under Claudius, but both were slain by the very soldiers who clothed them with the purple.

TITUS [1]

XXXII. It is related by Dexippus [2] and not left unmentioned by Herodian [3] or any of those who have recorded such things for posterity to read, that Titus, once a tribune of the Moors but reduced by Maximinus to the position of a civilian, fearing a violent death, as they narrate, but reluctantly, so most assert, and compelled by the soldiers, seized the imperial power. But within a few days, after the revolt was put down which Magnus,[4] a man of consular rank, led against Maximinus, he was slain by his own troops. He reigned, however, for the space of six months. He was one who especially deserved the praise of the commonwealth both at home and abroad, but in his ruling he had ill-fortune. Some say, on the other hand, that he was made emperor by the Armenian [5] bowmen, whom Maximinus hated as devoted to Alexander and to whom he had given offence. You will not, indeed, wonder that there is such diversity of statement about this man, for even his name is scarcely known. His wife was Calpurnia, a revered and venerated woman of the stock of the Caesonini (that is, of the Pisos),[6] to whom our fathers did reverence as a priestess married but once and among the most holy of women, and whose statue

but there is no reason for believing that the family was in existence in the third century, and this Calpurnia is probably an invention of the author's, due to his desire to ornament his work with great names.

adorarunt, cuius statuam in Templo Veneris adhuc
6 vidimus acrolitham sed auratam. haec uniones Cleopatranos habuisse perhibetur, haec lancem centum librarum argenti, cuius plerique poetae meminerunt, in qua maiorum eius expressa ostenderetur historia.
7 Longius mihi videor processisse quam res postulabat, sed quid faciam? scientia naturae facilitate verbosa
8 est. quare ad Censorinum revertar, hominem nobilem sed qui non tam bono quam malo rei publicae septem diebus dicitur imperasse.

CENSORINUS

XXXIII. Vir plane militaris et antiquae in curia dignitatis, bis consul, bis praefectus praetorii, ter praefectus urbi, quarto pro consule, tertio consularis, legatus praetorius secundo, quarto aedilicius, tertio quaestorius, extra ordinem quoque legatione Persica functus, etiam Sarmatica.
2 Post omnes tamen honores cum in agro suo degeret senex atque uno pede claudicans vulnere, quod bello Persico Valeriani temporibus acceperat, factus est imperator et scurrarum ioco Claudius appellatus est.
3 cumque se gravissime gereret neque a militibus ob disciplinam censoriam ferri posset, ab iis ipsis a quibus
4 factus fuerat interemptus est. exstat eius sepulchrum

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[1] Despite the imposing array of offices which this "pretender" is said to have held, no trace of him is found in any record of any kind, and, if he existed at all, he was certainly not the man of importance that the writer would have us believe.

[2] Apparently a pun on *claudus* = "lame."

we have seen still standing in the Temple of Venus, its head, hands and feet made of marble but the rest of it gilded. She is said to have owned the pearls that once belonged to Cleopatra and a silver platter weighing a hundred pounds, of which many poets have made mention and on which was shown wrought in relief the history of her forefathers.

I seem to have gone on further than the matter demanded. But what am I to do? For knowledge is ever wordy through a natural inclination. Wherefore I shall now return to Censorinus, a man of noble birth, but said to have ruled for seven days not so much to the welfare as to the hurt of the state.

CENSORINUS[1]

XXXIII. He was a soldier, indeed, and a man of old-time dignity in the senate-house, having been twice consul, twice prefect of the guard, three times prefect of the city, four times proconsul, three times legate of consular rank, twice of praetorian, four times of aedilician, three times of quaestorian, and having held the post of envoy extraordinary to the Persians and also to the Sarmatians.

Nevertheless, after all these offices, while living on his own estates, now an old man and lame in one foot from a wound received in the Persian War under Valerian, he was created emperor and by a jester's witticism given the name of Claudius.[2] But when he proceeded to act with the greatest severity and became intolerable to the soldiers because of his rigid discipline, he was put to death by the very men who had made him emperor. His tomb is still in

circa Bononiam,[1] in quo grandibus litteris incisi sunt omnes eius honores ; ultimo tamen versu adscriptum
5 est[2] : " Felix omnia, infelicissimus imperator." exstat eius familia, Censorinorum nomine frequentata, cuius pars Thracias odio rerum Romanarum, pars Bithyniam
6 petiit. exstat etiam domus pulcherrima, adiuncta Gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibentur.

7 Habes integrum triginta numerum tyrannorum, qui
8 cum malevolis quidem sed bono animo causabaris. da nunc cuivis libellum, non tam diserte quam fideliter[3] scriptum. neque ego eloquentiam mihi videor pollicitus esse, sed rem, qui hos libellos, quos de vita principum edidi, non scribo sed dicto, et dicto cum ea festinatione, quam, si quid vel ipse promisero vel tu petieris, sic perurges ut respirandi non habeam facultatem.

[1] *circa Bononiam* transp. by Eyssenhardt, foll. by Peter ; after *litteris* in P. [2] *adscriptum est* Hohl ; *asscriptus est* Σ ; *adseripest* P[1] ; *adseri potest* P corr., Peter. [3] *fideliter* Σ, Peter ; *feliciter* P.

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[1] See note to c. xiv. 3.

[2] The Templum Gentis Flaviae, originally the private house of Vespasian, was converted into a temple by Domitian (Suet., *Dom.*, i. 1) and was used as the burial-place of the Flavian

existence near Bologna, and on it are inscribed in large letters all the honours he had held, but in the last line there is added: "Happy in all things, as emperor most hapless." His family is still in existence,[1] well known by the name of Censorini, some of whom, in their hatred of all things Roman, have departed to Thrace, and some to Bithynia. His house, too, is still in existence, and a most beautiful one it is, adjacent to the Flavian House,[2] which is said to have once belonged to the Emperor Titus.

You have now the complete number of the thirty tyrants, you who used to dispute with those ill disposed to me, though always in a kindly spirit. Now bestow on any one you wish this little book, written not with elegance but with fidelity to truth. Nor, in fact, do I seem to myself to have made any promise of literary style, but only of facts, for these little works which I have composed on the lives of the emperors I do not write down but only dictate, and I dictate them, indeed, with that speed, which, whether I promise aught of my own accord or you request it, you urge with such insistence that I have not even the opportunity of drawing breath.

emperors. It stood on the Quirinal Hill close to the modern Quattro Fontane. The term *Gentes Flaviae* used in the text to denote this building is given as *Gentem Flaviam* in the *Notitia Regionum* and the *Curiosum*.

DIVUS CLAUDIUS

TREBELLII POLLIONIS

I. Ventum est ad principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constantii Caesaris cum cura in litteras digerendus est. de quo ego idcirco recusare non potui quod alios, tumultuarios videlicet imperatores ac regulos, scripseram eo libro quem de triginta tyrannis edidi, qui Cleopatranam etiam stirpem Victoriamque[1] 2 nunc detinet; si quidem eo res processit ut mulierum 3 etiam vitas scribi Gallieni comparatio effecerit. neque enim fas erat eum tacere principem, qui tantam generis sui prolem reliquit,[2] qui bellum Gothicum sua virtute

[1] *Victoriamque* Peter; *Victorianamque* P, Hohl.
[2] *reliquit* ins. by Salm. foll. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] M. Aurelius Claudius Augustus (268-270). The names Flavius (c. vii. 8; *Aur.*, xvii. 2) and Valerius (c. xviii. 3) are incorrectly given to him by the biographer for the purpose of connecting him more closely with Flavius Valerius Constantius (Chlorus), his reputed descendant; see note to c. xiii. 2. He seems to have been born in Illyricum (c. xi. 9), probably in 214, and to have served under Gallienus in the wars against Postumus (*Gall.*, vii. 1) and against the Goths; see c. vi. 1; xviii. 1. For his accession to power and his victory over Aureolus, see c. v. 1-3; *Gall.*, xiv. 2 f.; xv. 3; *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. 4. The biographer omits from this hysterical panegyric all

THE DEIFIED CLAUDIUS

BY

TREBELLIUS POLLIO

I. I have now come to the Emperor Claudius,[1] whose life I must set forth in writing with all due care, out of respect for Constantius Caesar. I could not, indeed, refuse to write of him, inasmuch as I had already written of others, emperors created in tumult, I mean, and princes of no importance, all in that book which I composed about the thirty pretenders and which now includes even a descendant of Cleopatra[2] and a Victoria;[3] for things had come to such a pass that, for the sake of comparison with Gallienus, I was forced to write even the lives of women.[4] And, in fact, it would not be right to leave unmentioned an emperor who left us such a scion of his race,[5] who ended the war against the Goths by his own valour,

mention of his great victory in 268 over the Alamanni, near Lake Garda, recorded by *Epit.*, 34, 2 and an inscription in which he has the cognomen Germanicus, as well as by his coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica* (Matt.-Syd., v. p. 232, nos. 247-250).

[2] *i.e.*, Zenobia; see *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 2.

[3] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxi. 1-4. [4] Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 1.

[5] Constantius Chlorus; see c. xiii. 2 and note.

confecit, qui manum publicis cladibus victor imposuit, qui Gallienum, prodigiosum imperatorem, etiamsi non auctor consilii fuit, tamen ipse imperaturus bono generis humani, a gubernaculis publicis depulit, qui, si diutius in hac esset commoratus re publica, Scipiones nobis [1] et Camillos omnesque illos veteres suis viribus, suis consiliis, sua providentia reddidisset

II. Breve illius, negare [2] non possum, in imperio fuit tempus, sed breve fuisset, etiamsi quantum hominum vita suppetit, tantum vir talis imperare potuisset. 2 quid enim in illo non mirabile? quid non conspicuum? quid non triumphalibus vetustissimis prae- 3 ferendum? in quo Traiani virtus, Antonini pietas, Augusti moderatio, et magnorum principum bona sic fuerunt, ut non ille [3] ab aliis exemplum caperet, sed, etiamsi illi non fuissent, hic ceteris reliquisset ex- 4 emplum. doctissimi mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes Mosen solum, dei, ut Iudaeorum libri loquuntur, familiarem, centum viginti quinque annos vixisse; qui cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret, responsum ei ab incerto ferunt numine neminem plus 5 esse victurum. quare etiamsi centum et viginti quinque annos Claudius vixisset, ne necessariam quidem mortem eius exspectandam fuisse, ut Tullius de Scipione

[1] *nobis* Salm.; *bonis* P. [2] *negare* Eyssenhardt, Peter; *genere* P, *Σ*. [3] *ille* Salm.; *nihil* P, *Σ*.

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[1] See note to *Gall.*, xiv. 1.

[2] Usually applied to Abraham; but cf. *Exodus*, xxxiii. 11 and *Ecclesiasticus*, xliv. 1.

[3] 120 years, according to *Deuteronomy*, xxxiv. 11.

[4] Cicero, *pro Milone*, 16, of the younger Scipio Africanus.

who as victor laid a healing hand upon the public miseries, who, though not the contriver of the plan,[1] nevertheless thrust Gallienus, that monstrous emperor, from the helm of the state, himself destined to rule for the good of the human race, who, finally, had he but tarried longer in this commonwealth, would by his strength, his counsel, and his foresight have restored to us the Scipios, the Camilli, and all those men of old.

II. Short, indeed, was the time of his rule—I cannot deny it—but too short would it have been, could such a man as he have ruled even as long as human life may last. For what was there in him that was not admirable? that was not pre-eminent? that was not superior to the triumphant generals of remote antiquity? The valour of Trajan, the righteousness of Antoninus, the self-restraint of Augustus, and the good qualities of all the great emperors, all these were his to such a degree that he did not merely take others as examples, but, even if these others had never existed, he himself would have left an example to all who came after. Now the most learned of the astrologers hold that one hundred and twenty years have been allotted to man for living and assert that no one has ever been granted a longer span; they even tell us that Moses alone, the friend of God,[2] as he is called in the books of the Jews, lived for one hundred and twenty-five years,[3] and that when he complained that he was dying in his prime, he received from an unknown god, so they say, the reply that no one should ever live longer. But even if Claudius had lived for one hundred and twenty-five years—as his life, so marvellous and admirable, shows us—we need not, as Tullius says of Scipio,[4] have

6 loquitur,[1] stupenda et mirabilis docet vita. quid enim magnum vir ille domi forisque non habuit ? amavit parentes; quid mirum ? amavit et fratres ; iam potest[2] dignum esse miraculo. amavit propinquos ; res nostris temporibus comparanda miraculo. invidit nulli, malos
7 persecutus est. fures iudices palam aperteque damnavit ; stultis quasi neglegenter indulsit. leges
8 optimas dedit. talis in re publica fuit, ut eius stirpem ad imperium summi principes eligerent, emendatior senatus optaret.

III. In gratiam me quispiam putet Constantii Caesaris loqui, sed testis est et tua conscientia et vita mea me nihil umquam cogitasse, dixisse, fecisse gratiosum.
2 Claudium principem loquor, cuius vita, probitas, et omnia quae in re publica gessit tantam posteris famam dedere ut senatus populusque Romanus novis eum
3 honoribus post mortem adfecerit : illi clipeus aureus, vel, ut grammatici loquuntur, clipeum aureum, senatus totius iudicio in Romana Curia conlocatum est, et etiam nunc videtur expresso[3] thorace vultus eius.
4 illi, quod nulli antea, populus Romanus sumptu suo in Capitolio ante Iovis Optimi Maximi Templum
5 statuam auream decem pedum conlocavit. illi totius orbis iudicio in Rostris posita est columna palmata

[1] So Cas. foll. by Peter; *sic loquitur pro Milone* P.
[2] *potest* Σ; *post* P. [3] *expresso* Salm.; *expressa* P, Peter, Hohl.

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[1] The author protests frequently and in vain against the imputation of flattery; see c. vi. 5; viii. 2; xi. 5.
[2] See note to *Pius*, v. 2.
[3] As a matter of fact, the masculine form is the more common.

expected for him even a natural death. For what great quality did not that man exhibit both at home and abroad? He loved his parents; what wonder in that? He loved also his brothers; that, indeed, may seem worthy of wonder. He loved his kinsmen; and that, in these times of ours, may well be compared to a wonder. He envied none, but he punished evil-doers. Judges guilty of theft he condemned openly and in public; but to the stupid he extended a sort of careless indulgence. He enacted most excellent laws. Indeed, so great a man did he show himself in public affairs, that the greatest princes chose a descendant of his to hold the imperial power, and a bettered senate desired him.

III. Some one perhaps may believe that I am speaking thus to win the favour of Constantius Caesar, but your sense of justice and my own past life will bear me witness that never have I thought or said or done anything to curry favour.[1] I am speaking of the Emperor Claudius, whose manner of life, whose uprightness, and whose whole career in the state have brought him such fame among later generations that after his death the senate and people of Rome bestowed on him unprecedented rewards: in his honour there was set up in the Senate-house at Rome, by desire of the entire senate, a golden *clipeus*[2]—or *clipeum*, as the grammarians say[3]—and even at the present time his likeness may be seen in the bust that stands out in relief; in his honour—and to none before him—the Roman people at their own expense erected a golden statue ten feet high on the Capitol in front of the Temple of Jupiter, Best and Greatest; in his honour by action of the entire world there was placed on the Rostra a column bearing a silver statue

statua superfixa librarum argenti mille quingentarum.
6 ille, velut futurorum memor, Gentes Flavias, quae Vespasiani quoque [1] et Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani, fuerant, propagavit. ille bellum Gothicum brevi
7 tempore implevit. adulator igitur senatus, adulator populus Romanus, adulatrices exterae gentes, adulatrices provinciae, si quidem omnes ordines, omnis aetas, omnis civitas statuis, vexillis, coronis, fanis, arcubus, aris ac templis [2] bonum principem honoraverit.

IV. Interest et eorum qui bonos imitantur principes et totius orbis humani cognoscere quae de illo viro senatus consulta sint condita, ut omnes iudicium pub-
2 licae mentis adnoscant. nam cum esset nuntiatum IX kal. Aprilis ipso in Sacrario Matris sanguinis die Claudium imperatorem factum, neque cogi senatus sacrorum celebrandorum causa posset, sumptis togis itum est ad Apollinis Templum, ac lectis litteris
3 Claudii principis haec in Claudium dicta sunt: "Auguste Claudi, di te praestent," dictum sexagies. "Claudi Auguste, te principem aut qualis tu es semper optavimus," dictum quadragies. "Claudi

[1] *Vespasiani quoque* Σ, Hohl; om. in P. [2] *aris ac templis* transp. by Klotz; after *principem* in P, Peter.

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[1] See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.
[2] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxiii. 6.
[3] See c. vi.-xi.
[4] The date is incorrect, for Gallienus was killed probably in July; see note to *Gall.*, xiv. 1.
[5] March 24 was the second day of the great four-day festival held in honour of the Magna Mater, whose temple stood on the Palatine Hill. Originally the day of the castration of the *Galli*,

arrayed in the palm-embroidered tunic [1] and weighing fifteen hundred pounds. It was he who, as though mindful of the future, enlarged the Flavian House,[2] which had also belonged to Vespasian and Titus, and—I say it reluctantly—of Domitian as well. It was he who, in a brief space of time, put an end to the war against the Goths.[3] Therefore the senate and people of Rome, foreign nations and provinces, too, must all be his flatterers, for indeed all ranks, all ages, and all communities have honoured this noble emperor with statues, banners, and crowns, shrines and arches, altars and temples.

IV. It will be of interest, both to those who imitate righteous princes and to the whole world of mankind as well, to learn the decrees of the senate that were passed about this man, in order that all may know the official opinion concerning him. For when it was announced in the shrine of the Great Mother on the ninth day before the Kalends of April,[4] the day of the shedding of blood,[5] that Claudius had been created emperor, the senators could not be held together for performing the sacred rites, but donning their togas they set forth to the Temple of Apollo,[6] and there, when the letter of the Emperor Claudius was read, the following acclamations were shouted in his honour [7]: "Claudius Augustus, may the gods preserve you!" said sixty times. "Claudius Augustus, you or such as you we have ever desired for our emperor," said forty times. "Claudius Augustus, the

or priests of the goddess, it was later the occasion of a ceremony in which the Archigallus cut his arm and so shed blood symbolically.

[6] The great temple on the Palatine Hill, built by Augustus.

[7] See note to *Val.*, v. 4.

Auguste, te res publica requirebat," dictum quadragies. "Claudi Auguste, tu frater, tu pater, tu amicus, tu bonus senator, tu vere princeps," dictum
4 octogies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos ab Aureolo vindica," dictum quinquies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Palmyrenis vindica," dictum quinquies. "Claudi Auguste, tu nos a Zenobia et a Vitruvia libera," dictum septies. "Claudi Auguste, Tetricus nihil fecit," dictum septies.

V. Qui primum ut factus est imperator, Aureolum, qui gravior rei publicae fuerat, quod Gallieno multum placebat, conflictu habito a rei publicae gubernaculis depulit tyrannumque missis ad populum edictis, datis
2 etiam ad senatum orationibus, iudicavit. his accedit quod rogantem Aureolum et foedus petentem imperator gravis et serius non audivit, responso tali repudiatum: "Haec a Gallieno petenda fuerant; qui
3 consentiret moribus, poterat et timere." denique iudicio suorum militum apud Mediolanum Aureolus dignum exitum vita ac moribus suis habuit. et hunc tamen quidam historici laudare conati sunt, et ridicule
4 quidem. nam Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum et historicorum dehonestamentum, principium de Aureolo habuit: "Venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui."
5 magna videlicet virtus ab auro nomen accipere. at ego scio saepius inter gladiatores bonis propugnatori-

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[1] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xi. [2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] Probably imitated from Sallust (*Historiae* i. frg. 55, 22): *ancilla turpis, bonorum omnium dehonestamentum.*

state was in need of you," said forty times. "Claudius Augustus, you are brother, father, friend, righteous senator, and truly prince," said eighty times. "Claudius Augustus, deliver us from Aureolus," said five times. "Claudius Augustus, deliver us from the men of Palmyra," said five times. "Claudius Augustus, set us free from Zenobia and from Vitruvia," said seven times. "Claudius Augustus, nothing has Tetricus accomplished," said seven times.

V. As soon as he was made emperor, entering into battle against Aureolus,[1] who was the more dangerous to the commonwealth because he had found great favour with Gallienus, he thrust him from the helm of the state; then he pronounced him a pretender, sending proclamations to the people and also despatching messages to the senate. It must be told in addition that when Aureolus pleaded with him and sought to make terms, this stern and unbending emperor refused to hearken, but rejected him with a reply as follows: "This should have been sought from Gallienus; for his character was like your own, he, too, could feel fear." Finally, near Milan, by the judgement of his own soldiers Aureolus met with an end worthy of his life and character. And yet certain historians have tried to praise him, though indeed most absurdly. For Gallus Antipater,[2] the handmaiden of honours and the dishonour of historians,[3] composed a preface about Aureolus, beginning as follows: "We have now come to an emperor who resembled his own name." Great virtue, forsooth, to get one's name from gold! I, however, know well that among gladiators this name has often been given to courageous fighters. Indeed, only recently your

bus hoc nomen adpositum. habuit proxime tuus libellus munerarius hoc nomen in indice ludiorum.

VI. Sed redeamus ad Claudium. nam, ut superius diximus,[1] illi Gothi, qui evaserant eo tempore quo illos Marcianus est persecutus, quosque Claudius emitti non siverat, ne id[2] fieret quod effectum est, omnes gentes suorum ad Romanas incitaverunt praedas. 2 denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peucini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi,[3] Gepedes, Celtae etiam et Eruli, praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum inruperunt[4] atque illic pleraque vastarunt, dum aliis occupatus est Claudius dumque se ad id bellum quod confecit imperatorie instruit, ut videantur fata Romana 3 boni principis occupatione lentata, sed credo, ut Claudii gloria adcresceret eiusque fieret gloriosior toto 4 penitus orbe victoria. armatarum denique gentium 5 trecenta viginti milia tunc fuere. dicat nunc qui nos adulationis accusat Claudium minus esse amabilem. armatorum trecenta viginti milia. quis tandem

[1] So Gruter, foll. by Peter; *diximus triginta* P. [2] *id* Peter; *quid* P. [3] Names corr. by Muellenhoff; *virtingui sigypedes* P. [4] *inruperunt* Peter, Hohl; *in rep. uenerunt* P.

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[1] See *Gall.*, vi. 1; xiii. 10 and notes.

[2] *i.e.*, under Gallienus; see note to c. i. 1.

[3] Cc. vi.-xi. describe the great Gothic invasion of 269-270, the most important event of Claudius' reign. The account, padded with fabricated letters and rhetorical questions, is hopelessly inadequate. A fuller description is given by Zosimus, i. 42-43; 45. The East and West Gothic tribes, Greuthungi-Austrogothi and Tervingi-Visi (the author has made four out of two), and the Gepidae, led, apparently, by the Eruli (see *Gall.* xiii. 6-10)

own announcement of games contained in the list of the combatants this very name.

VI. But let us return to Claudius. For, as we have said before, those Goths who had escaped when Marcianus chastised them [1] and those whom Claudius, hoping to prevent what actually came to pass, had not allowed to break forth,[2] fired all the tribes of their fellow-countrymen with the hope of Roman booty.[3] Finally, the various tribes of the Scythians, the Peucini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi, and Gepedes, and also the Celts and the Eruli, in their desire for plunder burst into Roman territory and there proceeded to ravage many districts; for meanwhile Claudius was busied with other things and was making preparation, like a true commander, for that war which he finally brought to an end; and so it may seem that the destiny of Rome was retarded by the diligence of an excellent prince, but I, for my part, believe that it so came to pass in order that the glory of Claudius might be enhanced and his victory have a greater renown throughout the whole world. There were then, in fact, three hundred and twenty thousand men of these tribes under arms. Now let him who accuses us of flattery [4] say that Claudius was not worthy of being beloved! Three hundred and

and accompanied by some of the Peucini from the mouth of the Danube invaded Thrace and Macedonia and the Propontis by land and sea. After a vain attempt to take Byzantium and Cyzicus they laid siege to Thessalonica and Cassandrea but were called away by the arrival of Claudius, who completely defeated and scattered their forces at Naissus (modern Nish in Jugoslavia). The figures of 320,000 men (§ 4) and 2000 ships (c. viii. 1) are, of course, gross exaggerations, like the number of Germans in *Prob.*, xiii. 7.

[4] See c. iii. 1 and note.

M 2

Xerxes hoc habuit? quae fabella istum numerum ad-
finxit? quis poeta composuit? trecenta viginti milia
6 armatorum fuerunt. adde servos, adde familias, adde
carraginem et epotata flumina consumptasque silvas,
laborasse denique terram ipsam, quae tantum barbarici
tumoris excepit.

VII. Exstat ipsius epistula missa ad senatum le-
genda ad populum, qua indicat de numero bar-
barorum, quae talis est:

2 "Senatui populoque Romano Claudius princeps."
(hanc autem ipse dictasse perhibetur, ego verba
3 magistri memoriae non requiro.) "Patres conscripti,
mirantes[1] audite quod verum est. trecenta viginti
milia barbarorum in Romanum solum armati venerunt.
haec si vicero, vos vicem reddite meritis; si non vicero,
4 scitote me post Gallienum velle pugnare. fatigata
est tota res publica. pugnamus post Valerianum, post
Ingenuum, post Regalianum, post Lollianum, post
Postumum, post Celsum, post mille alios, qui con-
5 temptu mali[2] principis a re publica defecerunt. non
scuta, non spathae, non pila iam supersunt. Gallias
et Hispanias, vires rei publicae, Tetricus tenet, et
omnes sagittarios, quod pudet dicere, Zenobia possi-
det. quidquid fecerimus satis grande est."

6 Hos igitur Claudius ingenita illa virtute superavit,
hos brevi tempore adtrivit, de his vix aliquos ad

[1] *mirantes* Obrecht, Peter; *militantes* P. [2] *mali* v. Winterfeld; *alio* P; *Gallieni* Egnatius, foll. by Peter and Hohl.

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[1] According to Herodotus, vii. 60 and 87, Xerxes brought across the Hellespont 1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; these figures are certainly greatly exaggerated.

[2] See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note.

twenty thousand armed men! What Xerxes,[1] pray, had so many? What tale has ever imagined, what poet ever conceived such a number? There were three hundred and twenty thousand armed men! Add to these their slaves, add also their families, their waggon-trains, too, consider the streams they drank dry and the forests they burned, and, finally, the labour of the earth itself which carried such a swollen mass of barbarians!

VII. There is still in existence a letter of his, sent to the senate to be read before the people, in which he tells the number of the barbarians. It is as follows: "From the Emperor Claudius to the senate and people of Rome." (This letter, it is said, he dictated himself, and I will not demand the version of the secretary of memoranda.[2]) "Conscript Fathers, you will hear with wonder what is only the truth. Three hundred and twenty thousand barbarians have come in arms into Roman territory. If I defeat them, do you requite my services; if I fail to defeat them, reflect that I am striving to fight after Gallienus' reign. The whole commonwealth is exhausted. We are fighting now after Valerian, after Ingenuus, after Regalianus, after Lollianus, after Postumus, after Celsus, and after a thousand others, who, in their contempt for an evil prince, revolted against the commonwealth. No shields, no swords, no spears are left to us now. The provinces of Gaul and Spain, the sources of strength for the state, are held by Tetricus, and all the bowmen—I blush to say it—Zenobia now possesses. Anything we accomplish will be achievement enough."

These barbarians, then, Claudius overcame by his own inborn valour and crushed in a brief space of time, suffering scarcely any to return to their native

patrium solum redire permisit. rogo, quantum pretium est clipeus in Curia tantae victoriae? quantum
7 una aurea statua? dicit Ennius de Scipione: "Quantam statuam faciet populus Romanus, quantam colum-
8 nam, quae res tuas gestas loquatur?" possumus dicere Flavium Claudium, unicum in terris principem, non columnis, non statuis sed famae viribus adiuvari.

VIII. Habuerunt praeterea duo milia navium, duplicem scilicet numerum quam illum, quo tota pariter Graecia omnisque Thessalia urbes Asiae quondam expugnare conata est. sed illud poeticus stilus fingit,
2 hoc vera continet historia. Claudio igitur scriptores adulamur, qui duo milia navium barbararum et trecenta viginti milia armatorum delevit, oppressit, adtrivit, qui carraginem tantam, quantam numerus hic armatorum sibimet aptare potuit et parare, nunc incendi fecit, nunc cum omnibus familiis Romano ser-
3 vitio deputavit. ut docetur eiusdem epistula, quam ad Iunium Brocchum scripsit Illyricum tuentem:
4 "Claudius Broccho. delevimus trecenta viginti
5 milia Gothorum, duo milia navium mersimus. tecta sunt flumina scutis, spathis et lanceolis omnia litora operiuntur. campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter
6 purum est, ingens carrago deserta est. tantum mulierum cepimus ut binas et ternas mulieres victor sibi
IX. miles possit adiungere. et utinam Gallienum non esset passa res publica! utinam sescentos tyrannos non

[1] See c. iii. 3.

[2] Evidently from Ennius' *Scipio*, a poem eulogizing the elder Africanus. These two lines are unmetrical and are plainly an inexact quotation.

[3] See note to c. i. 1.

[4] The thousand ships of the Greeks in the war against Troy. But see note to c. vi. 1.

[5] See c. iii. 1 and note. [6] Otherwise unknown.

soil. What reward for such a victory, I ask you, is a shield[1] in the Senate-house? What reward is one golden statue? Of Scipio Ennius wrote[2]: "What manner of statue, what manner of column shall the Roman people make, to tell of your deeds?" We can say with truth that Flavius[3] Claudius, an emperor without peer upon earth, is raised to eminence not by any columns or statues but by the power of fame.

VIII. They had, furthermore, two thousand ships, twice as many, that is, as the number with which all Greece and all Thessaly together once sought to conquer the cities of Asia.[4] This number, however, was devised by the pen of a poet, while ours is found in truthful history. And so do we writers flatter Claudius![5] the man by whom two thousand barbarian ships and three hundred and twenty thousand armed men were crushed, destroyed and blotted out, and by whom a waggon-train, as great as this host of armed men could fit out and make ready, was in part consigned to the flames and in part delivered over, along with the families of all, to Roman servitude. This is shown by the following letter of his, written to Junius Brocchus,[6] then in command of Illyricum:

"From Claudius to Brocchus. We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, we have sunk two thousand ships. The rivers are covered over with their shields, all the banks are buried under their swords and their spears. The fields are hidden beneath their bones, no road is clear, their mighty waggon-train has been abandoned. We have captured so many women that the victorious soldiers can take for themselves two or three apiece. IX. And would that the commonwealth had not had to endure Gallienus! Would that it had not had to bear six

pertulisset ! salvis militibus, quos varia proelia sustulerunt, salvis legionibus quas Gallienus male victor
2 occidit, quantum esset additum rei publicae ! si quidem nunc membra[1] naufragii publici colligit nostra diligentia ad Romanae rei publicae salutem."[2]
3 Pugnatum est enim apud Moesos, et multa proelia
4 fuerunt apud Marcianopolim. multi naufragio perierunt, plerique capti reges, captae diversarum gentium nobiles feminae, impletae barbaris servis Scythicisque[3] cultoribus Romanae provinciae. factus limitis[4] bar-
5 bari colonus e Gotho. nec ulla fuit regio quae Gothum
6 servum triumphali quodam servitio non haberet. quid boum barbarorum nostri videre maiores ? quid ovium ? quid equarum, quas fama nobilitat, Celticarum ? hoc totum ad Claudii gloriam pertinet. Claudius et securitate rem publicam et opulentiae nimietate donavit.
7 pugnatum praeterea est apud Byzantios, ipsis qui
8 superfuerant[5] Byzantinis fortiter facientibus. pugnatum apud Thessalonicenses, quos Claudio absente ob-
9 sederant barbari. pugnatum in diversis regionibus, et ubique auspiciis Claudianis victi sunt Gothi, prorsus ut iam tunc Constantio Caesari nepoti futuro videretur Claudius securam parare rem publicam.

[1] *membra* Damsté, Thörnell; *uerba* P, Σ, Peter; *reliqua* Cas., Hohl. [2] *salutem* ins. by Hohl; om. in P; lacuna assumed by Peter. c. ix. 1-2 incl. in letter of Claudius by Thörnell and Hohl; letter ended in c. viii. 6 by Peter. [3] *Scythicisque* Closs foll. by Peter and Hohl; *senibusque* P, Σ. [4] *limitis* Peter; *miles* P, Σ. [5] *superfuerant* Σ, Peter; *superius fuerant* P.

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[1] An allusion to Gallienus' victories over the Goths and Aureolus; see *Gall.*, xiii. 6 and xiv. 1 and notes.

[2] The capital of the province of Moesia, now Preslav near Devna in eastern Bulgaria, founded by Trajan and named for

hundred pretenders! Had but those soldiers been saved who fell in divers battles, those legions saved which Gallienus destroyed, disastrously victorious,[1] how much strength would the state have gained! Now, indeed, my diligence has but gathered together for the preservation of the Roman commonwealth the scattered remains of the shipwrecked state."

For there was fighting in Moesia and there were many battles near Marcianopolis.[2] Many perished by shipwreck, many kings were captured, noble women of divers tribes taken prisoner, and the Roman provinces filled with barbarian slaves and Scythian husbandmen.[3] The Goth was made the tiller of the barbarian frontier, nor was there a single district which did not have Gothic slaves in triumphant servitude. How many cattle taken from the barbarians did our forefathers see? How many sheep? How many Celtic mares, which fame has rendered renowned? All these redound to the glory of Claudius. For Claudius gave the state both security and an abundance of riches. There was fighting, besides, at Byzantium,[4] for those Byzantines who survived acted with courage. There was fighting at Thessalonica, to which the barbarians had laid siege while Claudius was far away. There was fighting in divers places, and in all of them, under the auspices of Claudius, the Goths were defeated, so that even then he seemed to be making the commonwealth safe in days to come for his nephew Constantius Caesar.[5]

his sister Marciana. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the Goths on their southward march.

[3] Underlying the rhetoric is the fact, related in Zosimus i. 46, that many of the Goths who survived the battle were settled as farmers in Roman territory.

[4] See note to c. vi. 1. [5] See note to c. xiii. 2.

X. Et bene venit in mentem, exprimenda est sors quae Claudio data esse perhibetur Comagenis, ut intellegant omnes genus Claudii ad felicitatem rei
2 publicae divinitus constitutum. nam cum consuleret factus imperator quamdiu imperaturus esset, sors talis emersit :

3 "Tu, qui nunc patrias gubernas oras
et mundum regis, arbiter deorum,
tu vinces[1] veteres tuis novellis ;
regnabunt etenim tui[2] minores
et reges facient suos minores."

4 item cum in Appennino de se consuleret, responsum huius modi accepit :

"Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas."

5 item cum de posteris suis :

"His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora ponam."

6 item cum de fratre Quintillo, quem consortem habere volebat imperii, responsum est :

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata."

7 quae idcirco posui ut sit omnibus clarum Constantium, divini generis virum, sanctissimum Caesarem, et Augustae ipsum familiae esse et Augustos multos de se daturum, salvis Diocletiano et Maximiano Augustis et eius fratre Galerio.

[1] *tu uinces* Salm. ; *in* P, *Σ*. [2] *tui* om. in P.

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[1] Mod. Tulln on the Danube, about 20 m. N.W. of Vienna.
[2] *Cf. Alex.*, iv. 6 and note and *Firm.*, iii. 4.
[3] *Aeneid*, i. 265. [4] *Aeneid*, i. 278. [5] See c. xii.
[6] *Aeneid*, vi. 669 ; quoted also in *Ael.*, iv. 1 and *Gord.*, xx. 5.

X. It has fortunately come into my mind, and so I must relate the oracle given to Claudius in Comagena,[1] so it is said, in order that all may know that the family of Claudius was divinely appointed to bring happiness to the state. For when he inquired, after being made emperor, how long he was destined to rule, there came forth the following oracle[2]:

"Thou, who dost now direct thy fathers' empire,
Who dost govern the world, the gods' vicegerent,
Shalt surpass men of old in thy descendants;
For those children of thine shall rule as monarchs,
And make their children into monarchs also."

Similarly, when once in the Apennines he asked about his future, he received the following reply:

"Three times only shall summer behold him a ruler in Latium[3]."

Likewise, when he asked about his descendants:

"Neither a goal nor a limit of time will I set for their power[4]."

Likewise, when he asked about his brother Quintillus,[5] whom he was planning to make his associate in the imperial power, the reply was:

"Him shall Fate but display to the earth.[6]"

These oracles I have included, in order that it may be clear to all that Constantius, scion of a family divinely appointed, our most venerated Caesar, himself springs from a house of Augusti and will give us, likewise, many Augusti of his own—with all safety to the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian and his brother Galerius.

XI. Sed dum haec a divo Claudio aguntur, Palmyreni ducibus Saba et Timagene contra Aegyptios bellum sumunt atque ab his Aegyptia pervicacia et
2 indefessa pugnandi continuatione vincuntur. dux tamen Aegyptiorum Probatus Timagenis insidiis interemptus est. Aegyptii vero omnes se Romano imperatori dederunt in absentis Claudii verba iurantes.
3 Antiochiano[1] et Orfito consulibus auspicia Claudiana favor divinus adiuvit. nam cum se Haemimontum multitudo barbararum gentium, quae superfuerant, contulisset, illic ita fame ac pestilentia laboravit ut
4 iam Claudius dedignaretur et vincere. denique finitum est asperrimum bellum, terroresque Romani nominis sunt depulsi.
5 Vera dici fides cogit, simul ut sciant ii qui adulatores nos aestimari cupiunt, id quod historia dici postulat
6 nos[2] non tacere: eo tempore, quo parta est plena victoria, plerique milites Claudii secundis rebus elati, quae "sapientium quoque animos fatigant," ita in praedam versi sunt ut non cogitarent a paucissimis se

[1] Atticiano P, Peter. [2] *nos* ins. by Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] According to the better account in Zosimus i. 44, Septimius Zabdas (Saba), the general of Zenobia (see also *Aur.*, xxv. 3), aided by the Egyptian Timagenes conquered Egypt and left a garrison in it. Probatus (or Probus), Claudius' admiral, aided by some of the Egyptians, drove out the Palmyrenes, but he was later caught in a trap by Timagenes and his army was destroyed. He committed suicide after being captured, and Egypt remained in the possession of the Palmyrenes. The statement in § 2 that Egypt submitted to Claudius seems to be the usual fabrication for the purpose of eulogy.

[2] In this name the biographer is anticipating, for Haemimontum was the name of one of the six provinces into which

XI. While these things were being done by the Deified Claudius, the Palmyrenes, under the generals Saba and Timagenes, made war against the Egyptians,[1] who defeated them with true Egyptian pertinacity and unwearied continuance in fighting. Probatus, nevertheless, the leader of the Egyptians, was killed by a trick of Timagenes'. All the Egyptians, however, submitted to the Roman emperor, swearing allegiance to Claudius although he was absent.

In the consulship of Antiochianus and Orfitus the 270
favour of heaven furthered Claudius' success. For a great multitude, the survivors of the barbarian tribes, who had gathered in Haemimontum,[2] were so stricken with famine and pestilence that Claudius now scorned to conquer them further. And so at length that most cruel of wars was brought to an end, and the Roman nation was freed from its terrors.[3]

Now good faith forces me to speak the truth, and also the desire of showing to those who wish me to appear as a flatterer[4] that I am not concealing what history demands should be told: namely, that at the time when the victory was won in full, a number of Claudius' soldiers, puffed up with success—which "weakens the minds of even the wise"[5]—turned to plundering; for they did not reflect that, while busied

Diocletian divided the diocese of Thrace. Zosimus (i. 45) gives the scene more correctly as Mt. Haemus, *i.e.*, the Balkan Range.

[2] The victory was commemorated by Claudius' assumption of the cognomen Gothicus, which appears in an inscription and on the coins issued after his death with the legend *Divo Claudio Gothico* (Matt.-Syd., v. p. 234, nos. 263-265); it was also commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Victoriae Gothicae*; see *ibid.*, pp. 232-233, nos. 251-252.

[4] See note to c. iii. 1.

[5] A quotation from Sallust, *Catilina*, xi. 7.

posse fugari,[1] dum occupati animo atque corporibus
7 avertendis praedis[2] inserviunt. denique in ipsa
victoria prope duo milia militum a paucis barbaris et
8 iis qui fugerant interempta sunt. sed ubi hoc comperit Claudius, omnes qui rebelles animos extulerant conducto exercitu rapit atque in vincula Romam etiam mittit ludo publico deputandos. ita id, quod vel fortuna vel miles egerat, virtute boni principis antiquatum est. nec sola de hoste victoria, sed etiam
9 vindicta praesumpta est. in quo bello, quoad[3] gestum est, equitum Dalmatarum ingens exstitit virtus, quod originem ex ea provincia Claudius videbatur ostendere, quamvis alii Dardanum et ab Ilo Troianorum rege[4] atque ab ipso Dardano sanguinem dicerent trahere.

XII. Fuerunt per ea tempora et apud Cretam Scythae et Cyprum vastare temptarunt, sed ubique morbo aeque[5] exercitu laborante superati sunt.
2 Finito sane bello Gothico gravissimus morbus increbruit, tunc cum etiam Claudius adfectus morbo mortalis reliquit et familiare virtutibus suis petiit
3 caelum. quo ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante

[1] *fugari* Petschenig, Hohl ; *fatigari* P, Peter. [2] *praesidiis* P. [3] *quoad* Petschenig, Ellis ; *quod* P ; *quod* foll. by lacuna Peter. [4] *rege* ins. by Salm. ; om. in P. [5] *aeque* Bitschofsky ; *atque* P ; *atque* <*fame*> Salm., Peter.

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[1] He is referred to as an Illyrian in c. xiv. 2, and he may well have been a native of the district of Dardania, in southern Jugoslavia, extending northwards from Usküb. An easy confusion between this region and the Asiatic Dardanus near Troy, combined with a desire to give the emperor royal ancestry, led to the story of his descent from the Trojan kings.

[2] Zosimus (i. 46) records that the Goths with their fleet in-

in mind and in body, they gave themselves up to seizing their prey, a very few could put them to flight. And so, at the very moment of victory, about two thousand soldiers were slain by a few barbarians, who had already been routed. When Claudius learned this, however, he assembled his army and seized all those who had shown a rebellious spirit, and he even sent them to Rome in chains to be used in the public spectacles. So, whatever damage either fortune or the soldiers had caused was made good through the courage of the excellent prince, and not only was victory won from the enemy, but revenge was taken as well. In this war, throughout its whole length, the valour of the Dalmatian horsemen stood out as especially great, because it was thought that Claudius claimed that province as his original home [1]; others, however, declared that he was a Dardanian and derived his descent from Ilus, a king of the Trojans and, in fact, even from Dardanus himself.

XII. During this same period the Scythians attempted to plunder in Crete and Cyprus as well, but everywhere their armies were likewise stricken with pestilence and so were defeated.[2]

Now when the war with the Goths was finished, there spread abroad a most grievous pestilence, and then Claudius himself was stricken by the disease, and, leaving mankind, he departed to heaven, an abode befitting his virtues.[3] He, then, moved away

vaded Crete and Rhodes but did no harm worthy of mention; he says nothing about this division suffering from pestilence.

[3] He died early in 270 at Sirmium (mod. Mitrovitz on the lower Save), according to Zonaras xii. 26. The tendency to exalt him caused the fabrication of a romantic story which represented his death as a voluntary sacrifice; see Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 34, 3-5; *Epit.*, 34, 3.

Quintillus frater eiusdem, vir sanctus et sui fratris, ut vere dixerim, frater, delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit imperium, non hereditarium sed merito virtutum, qui factus esset imperator, etiamsi frater
4 Claudii principis non fuisset. sub hoc barbari qui superfuerant Anchialum vastare conati sunt, Nicopolim etiam obtinere. sed illi provincialium virtute obtriti
5 sunt. Quintillus autem ob brevitatem temporis nihil dignum imperio gerere potuit, nam septima decima die, quod se gravem et serium contra milites ostenderat ac verum principem pollicebatur, eo genere, quo
6 Galba, quo Pertinax interemptus est. et Dexippus quidem Quintillum [1] non dicit occisum, sed tantum mortuum. nec tamen addit morbo, ut dubium sentire videatur.

XIII. Quoniam res bellicas diximus, de Claudii genere et familia saltem pauca dicenda sunt, ne ea
2 quae scienda sunt praeterisse videamur: Claudius, Quintillus et Crispus fratres fuerunt. Crispi filia [2] Claudia; ex ea et Eutropio, nobilissimo gentis Dar-
3 danae viro, Constantius Caesar est genitus. fuerunt

[1] *Quintillum* Salm., Peter; *Claudium* P, Hohl. [2] *filia* Σ; *familia* P.

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[1] M. Aurelius Quintillus Augustus, according to his coins; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 238 f.

[2] Mod. Anchiali on the Gulf of Burgas on the western shore of the Black Sea.

[3] Mod. Stari Nikub in southern Bulgaria.

[4] The length of Quintillus' reign is also given as 17 days in Eutropius ix. 12 and Zonaras xii. 26, but as 77 days by the "Chronographer of 354" and as a few months by Zosimus (i. 47). As the coins bearing his name are very numerous, we must suppose a longer reign than 17 days; on the other hand, as, according to a papyrus dated 25 May, 270, Aurelian was

to the gods and the stars, and his brother Quintillus,[1] a righteous man and the brother indeed, as I might truly say, of his brother, assumed the imperial power, which was offered him by the judgement of all, not as an inherited possession, but because his virtues deserved it; for all would have made him emperor, even if he had not been the brother of the Claudius their prince. In his time those barbarians who still survived endeavoured to lay waste Anchialus[2] and even to seize Nicopolis,[3] but they were crushed by the valour of the provincials. Quintillus, however, could do naught that was worthy of the imperial power because his rule was so short, for on the seventeenth day of his reign[4] he was killed, as Galba[5] had been and Pertinax[6] also, because he had shown himself stern and unbending toward the soldiers and promised to be a prince in very truth. Dexippus,[7] to be sure, does not say that Quintillus was killed, but merely that he died. He does not, however, relate that he died of an illness, and so he seems to feel doubt.

XIII. Since we have now described his achievements in war, we must tell a few things, at least, concerning the kindred and the family of Claudius, lest we seem to omit what all should know: now Claudius, Quintillus, and Crispus were brothers, and Crispus had a daughter Claudia; of her and Eutropius, the noblest man of the Dardanian folk, was born Constantius

then known in Egypt to be emperor, the period of 77 days is too long. He may be supposed to have ruled for six weeks at the most; see Stein in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.*, vii. p. 45 f. According to *Aur.*, xxxvii. 6 and Zosimus and Zonaras, he killed himself by opening his veins.

[5] See Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 18 f.

[6] See *Pert.*, xi. [7] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

etiam sorores, quarum una, Constantina nomine,
4 nupta tribuno Assyriorum, in primis annis defecit. de avis nobis parum cognitum; varia enim plerique prodiderunt.

5 Ipse Claudius insignis morum gravitate, insignis vita singulari et unica castimonia, vini parcus, ad cibum promptus, statura procerus, oculis ardentibus, lato et pleno vultu, digitis usque adeo fortibus, ut saepe equis et mulis ictu pugni dentes excusserit.
6 fecerat hoc etiam adulescens in militia, cum ludicro Martiali in Campo luctamen inter fortissimos quosque
7 monstraret. nam iratus ei, qui non balteum sed genitalia sibi contorserat, omnes dentes uno pugno excussit. quae res[1] indulgentiam meruit[2] pudoris
8 vindictae. si quidem tunc Decius imperator, quo praesente fuerat perpetratum, et virtutem et verecundiam Claudii publice praedicavit donatumque armillis et torquibus a militum congressu facessere praecepit, ne quid atrocius quam luctamen exigit faceret.

[1] *quae res* Hohl; *quaeres* P; *quaerens* editors. [2] *meruit* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] The statement of the relationship of Constantius to Claudius as given here differs from that of Eutropius (ix. 22) and Zonaras (xii. 26 end), both of whom represent Constantius as the son of Claudius' daughter, while the *nepos* of c. ix. 9 is ambiguous. On the other hand, the accepted official version, found in the Panegyrics addressed to Constantine and in the inscriptions of both the emperor himself and his sons, in which Constantine appears as Claudius' grandson, presupposes the theory that Constantius was Claudius' son. This divergence leads inevitably to the suspicion that the relationship was

Caesar.[1] There were also some sisters, of whom one, Constantina by name, was married to a tribune of the Assyrians, but died at an early age. Concerning his grandparents we know all too little, for varying statements have been handed down by most of the writers.

Now Claudius himself was noted for the gravity of his character, and noted, too, for his matchless life and a singular purity; he was sparing in his use of wine, but was not averse to food; he was tall of stature, with flashing eyes and a broad, full face, and so strong were his fingers that often by a blow of his fist he would dash out the teeth of a horse or a mule. He even performed a feat of this kind as a youth in military service, while taking part in a wrestling-match between some of the strongest champions at a spectacle in the Campus Martius held in honour of Mars. For, becoming angry at one fellow who grasped at his private parts instead of his belt, he dashed out all the man's teeth with one blow of his fist. This action won him favour for thus protecting decency; for the Emperor Decius, who was present when this was done, publicly praised his courage and modesty and presented him with arm-rings and collars,[2] but bade him withdraw from the soldiers' contests for fear he might do some more violent deed than the wrestling required.

wholly a fabrication, designed, in the interests of the dynasty, to provide the parvenu Constantius with ancestors. This is strengthened by the fact that, with the exception of Quintillus, none of the members of Claudius' family named in this chapter is known to us, and by the wholly incorrect attribution to Claudius of the names Flavius and Valerius which were those of Constantius; see note to c. i. 1.

[2] *i.e.*, the usual rewards given to soldiers; see *Maxim.*, ii. 4; *Aur.*, vii. 7; *Prob.*, v. i.

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9 Ipsi Claudio liberi nulli fuerunt, Quintillus duos reliquit, Crispus, ut diximus, filiam.

XIV. Nunc ad iudicia principum veniamus, quae de[1] illo a diversis edita sunt, et eatenus quidem ut appareret quandocumque Claudium imperatorem futurum.

2 Epistula Valeriani ad Zosimionem, procuratorem Syriae: "Claudium, Illyricianae gentis virum, tribunum Martiae quintae legioni fortissimae ac devotissimae[2] dedimus, virum devotissimis quibusque ac fortissimis 3 veterum praeferendum. huic salarium de nostro privato aerario dabis annuos frumenti modios tria milia, hordei sex milia, laridi libras duo milia, vini veteris sextarios tria milia quingentos, olei boni sextarios centum quinquaginta, olei secundi sextarios sescentos, salis modios viginti, cerae pondo centum quinquaginta, feni, paleae, aceti, holeris, herbarum quantum satis est, pellium tentoriarum decurias triginta, mulos annuos sex, equos annuos tres, camelas annuas decem, mulas annuas novem, argenti in opere annua pondo quinquaginta, Philippeos nostri vultus annuos centum quinquaginta et in strenis quadraginta 4 septem et trientes centum sexaginta. item in cauco

[1] *de* om in P. [2] *ac deuotissimae* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] None of the persons to whom this letter and the following ones (cc. xv.-xvii.) are addressed is otherwise known. They are probably as fictitious as the letters themselves.

[2] No Legio V. Martia is known, but a Legio IV. Martia is mentioned as stationed in Arabia in the early fifth century; see *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxvii. 22.

[3] This name, originally given to the famous gold stater of Philip II. of Macedonia, was also occasionally applied to the

Claudius himself had no children, but Quintillus left two sons, and Crispus, as I have said, a daughter.

XIV. Let us now proceed to the opinions that many emperors expressed about him, and in such wise, indeed, that it became apparent that he would some day be emperor.

A letter from Valerian to Zosimio, the procurator of Syria[1]: "We have named Claudius, a man of Illyrian birth, as tribune of our most valiant and loyal Fifth Legion, the Martian,[2] for he is superior to all the most loyal and most valiant men of old. By way of supplies you will give him each year out of our private treasury three thousand pecks of wheat, six thousand pecks of barley, two thousand pounds of bacon, three thousand five hundred pints of well-aged wine, one hundred and fifty pints of the best oil, six hundred pints of oil of the second grade, twenty pecks of salt, one hundred and fifty pounds of wax, and as much hay and straw, cheap wine, greens and herbs as shall be sufficient, thirty half-score of hides for the tents; also six mules each year, three horses each year, ten camels each year, nine she-mules each year, fifty pounds of silverware each year, one hundred amd fifty Philips,[3] bearing our likeness, each year, and as a New-year's gift forty-seven Philips and one hundred and sixty third-Philips. Likewise in cups and tankards and pots eleven pounds. Also

Roman aureus, but the author is probably using it loosely here, as also in *Firm.*, xv. 8, thinking of it as named after Philippus Arabs; see note to *Aur.*, ix. 7. Coins of a third-aureus are said to have been issued for the first time by Severus Alexander (*Alex.*, xxxix. 7), but no certain examples either of these or of any of Gallienus and Saloninus are in existence; see Menadier, *Die Münzen . . . bei den S. H. A.* p. 30 f.

et scypho et zema pondo undecim. tunicas russas militares annuas duas,[1] sagochlamydes annuas duas, fibulas argenteas inauratas duas, fibulam auream cum acu Cyprea unam. balteum argenteum inauratum unum, anulum bigemmem unum uncialem, brachialem unam unciarum septem, torquem libralem unum, cassidem inauratam unam, scuta chrysographata duo, loricam unam, quam refundat. lanceas Herculianas duas, aclides duas, falces duas, falces fenarias quattuor. cocum, quem refundat, unum, mulionem, quem refundat, unum, mulieres speciosas ex captivis duas. albam subsericam unam cum purpura Girbitana, subarmalem unum cum purpura Maura. notarium, quem refundat, unum, structorem, quem refundat, unum. accubitalium Cypriorum paria duo, interulas puras duas, fascias viriles duas,[2] togam, quam refundat, unam, latum clavum, quem refundat, unum. venatores, qui obsequantur, duo, carpentarium unum, curam praetorii unum, aquarium unum, piscatorem unum, dulciarium unum. ligni cotidiani pondo mille, si est copia, sin minus, quantum fuerit et ubi fuerit; coctilium cotidiana vatilla quattuor. balneatorem unum et ad balneas lignа, sin minus, lavetur in publico.

[1] *duas* ins. by Cas. foll. by Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.
[2] *fascias . . . duas* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] The adjective Herculianus, if the form is correct, is evidently from Herculius, the name assumed by Maximian. It occurs in the forms Herculia and Herculiani given by him to legions and other bodies of troops, and the name of the lances here mentioned seems to have the same derivation; its presence in a letter attributed to Valerian is an unfortunate slip on the part of the author. It is, of course, possible to alter the reading to Herculaneus, but Heracles is almost uniformly repre-

two red military tunics each year, two military cloaks each year, two silver clasps gilded, one golden clasp with a Cyprian pin, one sword-belt of silver gilded, one ring with two gems to weigh an ounce, one armlet to weigh seven ounces, one collar to weigh a pound, one gilded helmet, two shields inlaid with gold, one cuirass, to be returned. Also two Herculian[1] lances, two javelins, two reaping-hooks, and four reaping-hooks for cutting hay. Also one cook, to be returned, one muleteer, to be returned, two beautiful women taken from the captives. One white part-silk[2] garment ornamented with purple from Girba,[3] and one under-tunic with Moorish purple. One secretary, to be returned, and one server at table, to be returned. Two pairs of Cyprian couch-covers, two white under-garments, a pair of men's leg-bands,[4] one toga, to be returned, one broad-striped tunic, to be returned. Two huntsmen to serve as attendants, one waggon-maker, one headquarters-steward,[5] one waterer, one fisherman, one confectioner. One thousand pounds of fire-wood each day, if there is an abundant supply, but if not, as much as there is and wherever it is, and four braziers of charcoal each day. One bath-man and firewood for the bath, but if there is none, he shall bathe in the public bath. All else, which cannot be enume-

sented with a club; the spear appears as his weapon only in the Hesiodic *Shield* and on coins of Erythrae; see Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 2137-2138.

[2] See note to *Heliog.*, xxvi. 1.

[3] Mod Djerba, an island off the coast of southern Tunisia and the seat of an imperial purple-factory.

[4] See note to *Alex.*, xl. 11.

[5] More correctly *a curis* or *domicurius*; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, iv. 1773.

14 iam cetera, quae propter minutias suas scribi nequeunt, pro moderatione praestabis, sed ita ut nihil adaeret, et si alicubi aliquid defuerit, non praestetur nec in 15 nummo exigatur. haec autem omnia idcirco specialiter non quasi tribuno sed quasi duci detuli, quia vir talis est ut ei plura etiam deferenda sint."

XV. Item ex epistula eiusdem alia inter cetera ad Ablavium Murenam praefectum praetorii: "Desine autem conqueri, quod adhuc Claudius est tribunus nec exercitus ducis loco[1] accipit, unde etiam senatum et 2 populum conqueri iactabas. dux factus est et dux totius Illyrici. habet in potestatem Thracios, Moesos, 3 Dalmatas, Pannonios, Dacos exercitus. vir ille summus nostro quoque iudicio speret consulatum et, si eius animo commodum est, quando voluerit, accipiat 4 praetorianam praefecturam. sane scias tantum ei a nobis decretum salarii quantum habet Aegypti praefectura, tantum vestium quantum proconsulatui Africano detulimus, tantum argenti quantum accipit curator Illyrici metallarius,[2] tantum ministeriorum quantum nos ipsi nobis per singulas quasque decernimus civitates, ut intellegant omnes quae sit nostra de viro tali sententia."

XVI. Item epistula Decii de eodem Claudio:

"Decius Messallae praesidi Achaiae salutem."

[1] *ducis loco* Mommsen, Hohl; *ducem loco* P, Σ; *ducendos* Cas., Peter. [2] *metallarius* Mommsen, Hohl; *Metlarius* P, Peter.

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[1] The silver mines in eastern Dalmatia were under the charge of an imperial *procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Delmaticorum* (*C.I.L.*, iii. 12721).

rated here because of its insignificance you will supply in due amount, but in no case shall the equivalent in money be given, and if there should be a lack of anything in any place, it shall not be supplied, nor shall the equivalent be exacted in money. All these things I have allowed him as a special case, as though he were not a mere tribune but rather a general, because to such a man as he an even larger allowance should be made."

XV. Likewise in another letter of Valerian's, addressed to Ablavius Murena, the prefect of the guard, among other statements the following: "Cease now your complaints that Claudius is still only a tribune and has not been appointed the leader of our armies, about which, you were wont to declare, the senate and people also complain. He has been made a general, and, in fact, the general in command of all Illyricum. He has under his rule the armies of Thrace, Moesia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. Indeed, this man, eminent in my estimation as well, may hope for the consulship, and, if it accords with his wishes, he may receive the prefecture of the guard whenever he desires. I would have you know, moreover, that we have allotted to him the same amount of supplies that the prefect of Egypt receives, the same amount of clothing that we have allowed to the proconsulate of Africa, the same amount of silver that the procurator of the mines in Illyricum [1] receives, and the same number of servants that we allot to ourselves in each and every community; for I wish all to know my opinion of such a man."

XVI. Likewise a letter of Decius' concerning this same Claudius:

"From Decius to Messalla, the governor of Achaea,

inter cetera: "Tribunum vero nostrum Claudium, optimum iuvenem, fortissimum militem, constantissimum civem, castris, senatui et rei publicae necessarium, in Thermopylas ire praecipimus mandata eidem cura Peloponnensium, scientes neminem melius omnia
2 quae iniungimus esse curaturum. huic ex regione Dardanica dabis milites ducentos, ex cataphractariis centum, ex equitibus sexaginta, ex sagittariis Creticis
3 sexaginta, ex tironibus bene armatos mille. nam bene illi novi creduntur exercitus; neque enim illo quisquam devotior, fortior, gravior invenitur."

XVII. Item epistula Gallieni, cum nuntiatum esset per frumentarios Claudium irasci, quod ille mollius
2 viveret: "Nihil me gravius accepit quam quod notaria tua intimasti Claudium, parentem amicumque nostrum, insinuatis sibi falsis plerisque graviter irasci.
3 quaeso igitur, mi Venuste, si mihi fidem exhibes, ut eum facias a Grato et Herenniano placari, nescientibus hoc militibus Daciscianis, qui iam saeviunt, ne graviter
4 res erumpant.[1] ipse ad eum dona misi, quae ut libenter accipiat tu facies. curandum praeterea est, ne me hoc scire intellegat ac sibi suscensere iudicet
5 et pro necessitate ultimum consilium capiat. misi autem ad eum pateras gemmatas trilibres duas, scyphos aureos gemmatos trilibres duos, discum corymbiatum

[1] *res erumpant* Salm. foll. by Peter[1] and Lenze; *reserum* P; *rem ferant* Petschenig, Peter,[2] Hohl.

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[1] See note to c. xi. 9. The district must have been under the command of the governor of Moesia, not of Achaea.

[2] See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

[3] See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4. [4] Otherwise unknown.

greetings." Among other orders the following: "But to our tribune Claudius, an excellent young man, a most courageous soldier, a most loyal citizen, necessary alike to the camp, the senate, and the commonwealth, we are giving instructions to proceed to Thermopylae, entrusting to his care the Peloponnesians also, for we know that no one will carry out more carefully all our injunctions. You will assign him from the district of Dardania [1] two hundred foot-soldiers, one hundred cuirassiers,[2] sixty horsemen, sixty Cretan archers, and one thousand new recruits, all well armed. For it is well to entrust new troops to him, inasmuch as none can be found more loyal, more valiant, or more earnest than he."

XVII. Likewise a letter of Gallienus', written when he was informed by his private agents [3] that Claudius was angered by his loose mode of life: "Nothing has grieved me more than what you have stated in your report, namely, that Claudius, my kinsman and friend, has been made very angry by certain false statements that have reached his ears. I request you, therefore, my dear Venustus, if you are faithful to me, to have him appeased by Gratus and Herennianus,[4] while the Dacian troops, even now in a state of anger, are still in ignorance, for I fear there may be some serious outbreak. I myself am sending him gifts, and you will see to it that he accepts them willingly. You will take care, furthermore, that he shall not become aware that I know all this and so suppose that I am incensed against him, and, accordingly, out of necessity adopt some desperate plan. I am sending to him, moreover, two sacrificial saucers studded with gems three pounds in weight, two golden tankards studded with gems three pounds in weight, a silver disk-shaped

argenteum librarum viginti, lancem argenteam pampinatam librarum triginta, patenam argenteam hederaciam librarum viginti et trium, boletar halieuticum argenteum librarum viginti, urceos duos auro inclusos argenteos librarum sex et in vasis minoribus argenti libras viginti quinque, calices Aegyptios operisque
6 diversi decem, chlamydes veri luminis limbatas duas, vestes diversas sedecim, albam subsericam, paragaudem triuncem unam, zanchas de nostris Parthicas paria tria, singiliones Dalmatenses decem, chlamydem Dardanicam mantuelem unam, paenulam Illyricianam
7 unam, bardocucullum unum, cucutia villosa duo, oraria Sarabdena quattuor, aureos Valerianos centum quinquaginta, trientes Saloninianos trecentos."

XVIII. Habuit et senatus iudicia, priusquam ad imperium perveniret, ingentia. nam cum esset nuntiatum illum cum Marciano fortiter contra gentes in
2 Illyrico dimicasse, adclamavit senatus: "Claudi, dux fortissime, aveas! virtutibus tuis, devotioni tuae! Claudio statuam omnes dicamus. Claudium consulem
3 omnes cupimus. qui amat rem publicam sic agit, qui amat principes sic agit, antiqui milites sic egerunt. felicem te, Claudi, iudicio principum, felicem te

[1] The paragaudes or paragauda (*παραγώδης*), also mentioned in. *Aur.*, xv. 4; xlvi. 6; *Prob.*, iv. 5, is described by Lydus (*de Magistratibus*, i. 17; ii. 4) as a *χιτὼν λογχωτός*, a tunic of eastern origin, having sleeves and a purple border embroidered with designs in gold. The Edict of Justinian permits its use by men as a special distinction.

[2] See *Com.*, viii. 8 and note.

[3] See *Pert.*, viii. 3 and note.

[4] Near Sidon in Phoenicia and famous for its purple.

platter with an ivy-cluster pattern twenty pounds in weight, a silver dish with a vine-leaf pattern thirty pounds in weight, a silver bowl with an ivy-leaf pattern twenty-three pounds in weight, a silver vessel for fish twenty pounds in weight, two silver pitchers embossed with gold six pounds in weight and smaller vessels of silver amounting to twenty-five pounds in weight, ten cups of Egyptian and other workmanship, two cloaks with purple borders of the true brilliance, sixteen garments of various kinds, a white one of part-silk, one tunic with bands of embroidery[1] three ounces in weight, three pairs of Parthian shoes from our own supply, ten Dalmatian[2] striped tunics, one Dardanian great-coat, one Illyrian mantle, one hooded-cloak,[3] two shaggy hoods, four handkerchiefs from Sarepta[4]; also one hundred and fifty aurei with the likeness of Valerian and three hundred third-aurei with that of Saloninus."[5]

XVIII. He had also the approval of the senate before he became emperor, and weighty, indeed, it was. For when the announcement was made that he, together with Marcianus,[6] had fought valiantly against the barbarian tribes in Illyricum, the senate acclaimed him thus[7]: "Claudius, our most valiant leader, hail! Hail to your courage, hail to your loyalty! Let us all decree a statue to Claudius. We all desire Claudius as consul. So acts he who loves the commonwealth, so acts he who loves the emperors, so acted the soldiers of old. Happy are you, Claudius, in the approval of princes, happy are you in your own valour, you our consul, you our

[5] See note to c. xiv. 3. [6] See *Gall.*, vi. 1.
[7] Cf. c. iv. 3.

virtutibus tuis, consulem te, praefectum te! vivas Valeri, et ameris a principe!"

4 Longum est tam multa quam meruit vir ille perscribere; unum tamen tacere non debeo, quod illum et senatus et populus et ante imperium et in imperio et post imperium sic dilexit ut satis constet neque Traianum neque Antoninos neque quemquam alium principem sic amatum.

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[1] See note to c. i. 1.

prefect! Long may you live, Valerius,[1] and enjoy the love of your prince!"

It would be too long to set forth all the many honours that this man earned; one thing, however, I must not omit, namely, that both the senate and people held him in such affection both before his rule and during his rule and after his rule that it is generally agreed among all that neither Trajan nor any of the Antonines nor any other emperor was so beloved.

DIVUS AURELIANUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Hilaribus, quibus omnia festa et fieri debere scimus et dici, impletis sollemnibus vehiculo suo me et iudiciali carpento praefectus urbis, vir inlustris ac praefata reverentia nominandus, Iunius Tiberianus ac-
2 cepit. ibi cum animus a causis atque a negotiis publicis solutus ac liber vacaret, sermonem multum a Palatio usque ad Hortos Varianos instituit et in eo
3 praecipue de vita principum. cumque ad Templum Solis venissemus ab Aureliano principe consecratum, quod ipse non nihilum ex eius origine sanguinem duceret, quaesivit a me quis vitam eius in litteras ret-
4 tulisset. cui cum ego respondissem neminem a me Latinorum, Graecorum aliquos lectitatos, dolorem

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[1] Celebrated in honour of the Magna Mater on 25 March.

[2] Junius Tiberianus was consul in 281 and 291. He was prefect of the city, according to the list of the "Chronographer of 354," from 18 Feb., 291, to 3 Aug., 292, and again from 12 Sept., 303, to 4 Jan., 304. Since neither this group of biographies nor those ascribed to Trebellius Pollio was written as early as 292, it must be his second prefecture that is meant here. This, however, did not include the Hilaria, and one is

THE DEIFIED AURELIAN

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. At the festival of the Hilaria[1]—when, as we know, everything that is said and done should be of a joyous nature—when the ceremonies had been completed, Junius Tiberianus,[2] the prefect of the city, an illustrious man and one to be named only with a prefix of deep respect, took me up into his carriage, that is to say, his official coach. There, his mind being now at leisure, relaxed and freed from law-pleas and public business, he engaged in much conversation all the way from the Palatine Hill to the Gardens of Varius,[3] his theme being chiefly the lives of the emperors. And when we had reached the Temple of the Sun,[4] consecrated by the Emperor Aurelian, he asked me—for he derived his descent in some degree from him—who had written down the record of the life of that prince. When I replied that I had read none in Latin, though several in

forced to the conclusion that, unless the feast of Isis on 3 Nov., sometimes also referred to as the Hilaria, is meant, the episode described here is merely a literary device.

[3] Otherwise unknown. [4] See c. xxxv. 3 and note.

gemitus sui vir sanctus per haec verba profudit:
5 "Ergo Thersitem, Sinonem ceteraque illa prodigia
vetustatis et nos bene scimus et posteri frequenta-
bunt; divum Aurelianum, clarissimum principem,
severissimum imperatorem, per quem totus Romano
nomini orbis est restitutus, posteri nescient? deus
6 avertat hanc amentiam. et tamen, si bene novi,
ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella
charactere historico digesta, quae velim accipias et
per ordinem scribas, additis quae ad vitam pertinent.
7 quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana
sua scribi praeceperat, pro tua sedulitate condisces.
curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia Bibliotheca et libri
8 lintei proferantur. tu velim Aurelianum ita ut
9 est, quatenus potes, in litteras mittas." parui, mi
Ulpiane,[1] praeceptis, accepi libros Graecos et omnia
mihi necessaria in manum sumpsi, ex quibus ea quae
10 digna erant memoratu in unum libellum contuli. tu
velim meo muneri boni consulas et, si hoc contentus
non fueris, lectites Graecos, linteos etiam libros re-
quiras, quos Ulpia tibi Bibliotheca, cum volueris,
ministrabit.

[1] So Mommsen; *parrumipiane* P; *parui Tiberiani* Peter.

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[1] The reviler of Agamemnon in *Iliad*, ii. 212 f.

[2] He persuaded the Trojans to bring into their city the Wooden Horse; see *Aeneid*, ii. 67 f.

[3] Probably, like the whole incident, fictitious. They seem to have been suggested by the Libri Lintei, containing lists of magistrates, cited by the annalists C. Licinius Macer and Q. Aelius Tubero, of the first century B.C. (see Livy, iv. 7, 12; 23, 2), but regarded by many modern scholars as apocryphal.

[4] In the Forum of Trajan; see note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6. It is

Greek, that revered man poured forth in the following words the sorrow that his groan implied : "And so Thersites [1] and Sinon [2] and other such monsters of antiquity are well known to us and will be spoken of by our descendants ; but shall the Deified Aurelian, that most famous of princes, that most firm of rulers, who restored the whole world to the sway of Rome, be unknown to posterity ? God prevent such madness ! And yet, if I am not mistaken, we possess the written journal of that great man and also his wars recorded in detail in the manner of a history, and these I should like you to procure and set forth in order, adding thereto all that pertains to his life. All these things you may learn in your zeal for research from the linen books,[3] for he gave instructions that in these all that he did each day should be written down. I will arrange, moreover, that the Ulpian Library [4] shall provide you with the linen books themselves. It would be my wish that you write a work on Aurelian, representing him, to the best of your ability, just as he really was." I have carried out these instructions, my dear Ulpianus,[5] I have procured the Greek books and laid my hands on all that I needed, and from these sources I have gathered together into one little book all that was worthy of mention. You I should wish to think kindly of my work, and, if you are not content therewith, to study the Greeks and even to demand the linen books themselves, which the Ulpian Library will furnish you whenever you desire.

a favourite source for the erudition displayed by this biographer ; see *Tac.*, viii. 1 ; *Prob.*, ii. 1 ; *Car.*, xi. 3.

[5] Only a tentative restoration of the text and wholly unknown (cf. note to *Prob.*, i. 3).

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II. Et quoniam sermo nobis de Trebellio Pollione, qui a duobus Philippis usque ad divum Claudium et eius fratrem Quintillum imperatores tam claros quam obscuros memoriae prodidit, in eodem vehiculo fuit adserente Tiberiano quod Pollio multa incuriose, multa breviter prodidisset, me contra dicente neminem scriptorum, quantum ad historiam pertinet, non aliquid esse mentitum, prodente quin etiam in quo Livius, in quo Sallustius, in quo Cornelius Tacitus, in quo denique Trogus manifestis testibus convincerentur, pedibus in sententiam transitum faciens ac manum porrigens
2 iocando praeterea,[1] "Scribe," inquit, "ut libet. securus quod velis dices, habiturus mendaciorum comites, quos historicae eloquentiae miramur auctores."

III. Ac ne multa et frivola prooemiis odiosus intexam, divus Aurelianus ortus, ut plures loquuntur, Sirmii familia obscuriore, ut nonnulli, Dacia Ripensi.
2 ego autem legisse me memini auctorem qui eum Moesia genitum praedicaret. et evenit quidem ut de eorum virorum genitali solo nesciatur qui humiliore loco et ipsi plerumque solum genitale confingunt, ut
3 dent posteritati de locorum splendore fulgorem. nec tamen magnorum principum in rebus [2] summa sciendi

[1] *praeterea* P, Lessing, Hohl; *propterea* Cas., Peter. [2] *in rebus* Peter; *uiribus* P, Σ.

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[1] See note to *Val.*, i. 1.

[2] Pompeius Trogus, of the time of Augustus, who wrote *Historiae Philippicae*, extant only in the abridgement by Justinus.

[3] L. Domitius Aurelianus Augustus (270-275).

[4] According to *Epit.*, 35, 1, his father was a *colonus* of a senator named Aurelius.

[5] Mod. Mitrovitz. His actual birthplace is, indeed, unknown,

II. Now, when in the same carriage our talk had fallen on Trebellius Pollio, who has handed down to memory all the emperors, both illustrious and obscure, from the two Philips [1] to the Deified Claudius and his brother Quintillus, Tiberianus asserted that much of Pollio's work was too careless and much was too brief; but when I said in reply that there was no writer, at least in the realm of history, who had not made some false statement, and even pointed out the places in which Livy and Sallust, Cornelius Tacitus, and, finally, Trogus [2] could be refuted by manifest proofs, he came over wholly to my opinion, and, throwing up his hands, he jestingly said besides: "Well then, write as you will. You will be safe in saying whatever you wish, since you will have as comrades in falsehood those authors whom we admire for the style of their histories."

III. So then—lest I become tiresome by weaving too many trifles into my preface — the Deified Aurelian [3] was born of a humble family,[4] at Sirmium [5] according to most writers, but in Dacia Ripensis [6] according to some. I remember, moreover, having read one author who declared that he was born in Moesia; and, indeed, it often comes to pass that we are ignorant of the birthplaces of those who, born in a humble position, frequently invent a birthplace for themselves, that they may give their descendants a glamour derived from the lustre of the locality. However, in writing of the deeds of a great emperor, the

but there is no doubt that, like Claudius, Probus, Carus and Diocletian, he came of the hardy Illyrian stock which in this period furnished the greater part of Rome's soldiers. He was born in 214 or 215.

[6] A new province formed by Aurelian himself (see c. xxxix. 7), and so not unnaturally supposed to be his native place.

est ubi quisque sit genitus, sed qualis in re publica
4 fuerit. an Platonem magis commendat quod Athen-
iensis fuerit quam quod unicum sapientiae munus
5 inluxerit? aut eo minores invenientur Aristoteles
Stagirites Eleatesque Zenon aut Anacharsis Scytha
quod in minimis nati sint viculis, cum illos ad caelum
omnis philosophiae virtus extulerit?

IV. Atque, ut ad ordinem redeam, Aurelianus modi-
cis ortus parentibus, a prima aetate ingenio vivacissi-
mus, viribus clarus, nullum umquam diem praetermisit,
quamvis festum, quamvis vacantem, quo non se pilo
et sagittis ceterisque armorum exerceret officiis.
2 matrem quidem eius Callicrates Tyrius, Graecorum
longe doctissimus scriptor, sacerdotem templi Solis
sui [1] in vico eo in quo habitabant parentes fuisse dicit;
3 habuisse quin etiam non nihilum divinationis, adeo ut
aliquando marito suo iurgans ingesserit, cum eius et
stultitiam increparet et vilitatem, "En imperatoris
patrem." ex quo constat illam mulierem scisse fatalia.
4 idem dicit auspicia imperii Aureliano haec fuisse:
primum pueri eius pelvem serpentem plerumque cinx-
isse neque umquam occidi potuisse, postremo ipsam
matrem, quae hoc viderat, serpentem quasi familiarem

[1] *sui* Mommsen; *qui* P, Σ; lacuna after *parentes* assumed by Peter.

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[1] A pupil of Parmenides, born in Elea (Velia) in Italy about 485 B.C. and resident in Athens about 450, the inventor of the argument about Achilles and the tortoise.

[2] A Scythian prince who travelled to Greece and was supposed to have lived in Athens in the early sixth century as the friend of Solon and to have been the author of a series of aphorisms; see Diog. Laert., i. 8, 101 f.

chief thing to be known is not in what place he was born, but how great he was in the State. Do we value Plato more highly because he was born at Athens than because he stands out illumined as the peerless gift of philosophy? Or do we hold Aristotle of Stagira or Zeno of Elea [1] or Anacharsis [2] of Scythia in less esteem because they were born in the tiniest villages, when the virtue of philosophy has exalted them all to the skies?

IV. And so—to return to the course of events—Aurelian, born of humble parents and from his earliest years very quick of mind and famous for his strength, never let a day go by, even though a feast-day or a day of leisure, on which he did not practise with the spear, the bow and arrow, and other exercises in arms. As to his mother, Callicrates of Tyre,[3] by far the most learned writer of the Greeks, says that she was a priestess of the temple of his own Sun-god [4] in the village in which his parents lived; she even had the gift of prophecy to a certain extent, for once, when she was quarrelling with her husband and reviling him for his stupidity and low estate, she shouted at him, "Behold the father of an emperor!" From which it is clear that the woman knew something of fate. The same writer says also that there were the following omens of the rule of Aurelian: First of all, when he was a child, a serpent wound itself many times around his wash-basin, and no one was able to kill it; finally, his mother, who had seen the occurrence, refused to have the serpent killed, saying that it was a member

[3] Otherwise unknown and probably fictitious.

[4] An allusion to the cult of the Sun founded by him at Rome; see c. xxxv. 3 and note. This fact is probably the origin of the story that his mother was a priestess of the deity.

occidere noluisse. his accedit quod ex palliolo purpureo, quod Soli sui temporis imperator obtulerat, sacerdos mulier crepundia filio fecisse perhibetur. addit etiam illud, quod vinctum fasciola Aurelianum aquila innoxie de cunis levaverit et in aram posuerit, quae iuxta sacellum forte sine ignibus erat. idem auctor est vitulum matri eius natum mirae magnitudinis, candidum sed purpurantibus maculis, ita ut habV. eret in latere uno "ave" et[1] in alio coronam. multa superflua in eodem legisse me[2] memini; quippe qui adseveret etiam rosas in eiusdem mulieris chorte nato Aureliano exisse purpureas, odoris rosei, floris aurei. fuerunt et postea multa omina iam militanti futuri, ut res monstravit, imperii. nam ingrediente eo Antiochiam in vehiculo, quod prae vulnere tunc equo sedere non posset, ita pallium purpureum, quod in honore eius pansum fuerat, decidit, ut umeros eius tegeret. et cum in equum transire vellet, quia invidiosum tunc erat vehiculis in civitate uti, equus est ei imperatoris adplicitus, cui per festinationem insedit. sed ubi comperit, semet ad suum transtulit. data est ei praeterea, cum legatus ad Persas isset, patera, qualis solet imperatori dari a rege Persarum, in qua insculptus erat Sol eo habitu quo colebatur ab eo templo in quo mater eius

[1] "*aue*" *et in alio* Hohl; *auetrinalio* P[1]; "*aue imperator*" Peter[2]. [2] *me* ins. by Lessing, v. Winterfeld, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 72) tells of snakes kept as pets in Rome. The snake was, in fact, regarded as the symbol of the *genius* of the owner of a house, and is often found at Pompeii painted on the wall of the shrine of the household-gods along with the figures of the Lares and Penates.

[2] For a similar "omen" see *Cl. Alb.*, v. 9.

[3] It had been forbidden by M. Aurelius; see *Marc.*, xxiii. 8.

of the household.[1] Furthermore, it is said, the priestess made swaddling-clothes for her son from a purple cloak,[2] which the emperor of the time had dedicated to the Sun-god. This, too, is related, that Aurelian, while wrapped in his swaddling-clothes, was lifted out of his cradle by an eagle, but without suffering harm, and was laid on an altar in a neighbouring shrine which happened to have no fire upon it. The same writer asserts that on his mother's land a calf was born of marvellous size, white but with purple spots, which formed on one side the word "hail," on the other side a crown. V. I remember also reading in this same author much that has no importance; he even asserts that when Aurelian was born there sprang up in this same woman's courtyard roses of a purple colour, having the fragrance of the rose but a golden centre. Later, when he was in military service, there were also many omens predicting, as events showed, his future rule. For instance, when he entered Antioch in a carriage, for the reason that because of a wound he could not ride his horse, a purple cloak, which had been spread out in his honour, fell down on him in such a way as to cover his shoulders. Then, when he desired to change to a horse, because at that time the use of a carriage in a city was attended with odium,[3] a horse belonging to the emperor was led up to him, and in his haste he mounted it. But when he discovered to whom it belonged, he changed to one of his own. Furthermore, when he had gone as envoy to the Persians, he was presented with a sacrificial saucer, of the kind that the king of the Persians is wont to present to the emperor, on which was engraved the Sun-god in the same attire in which he was worshipped in the very temple where the mother

6 fuerat sacerdos. donatus eidem etiam elephantus praecipuus, quem ille imperatori obtulit, solusque omnium privatus Aurelianus elephanti dominus fuit.

VI. Sed ut haec et talia omittamus, fuit decorus ac gratia viriliter speciosus, statura procerior, nervis validissimis, vini et cibi paulo cupidior, libidinis rarae, severitatis inmensae, disciplinae singularis, gladii ex-
2 serendi cupidus. nam cum essent in exercitu duo Aureliani tribuni, hic et alius, qui cum Valeriano captus est, huic signum exercitus adposuerat "manu ad ferrum," ut si forte quaereretur quis Aurelianus aliquid vel fecisset vel gessisset, suggereretur "Aurelianus manu ad ferrum" atque cognosceretur.

3 Privati huius multa exstant egregia facinora. nam erumpentes Sarmatas in Illyrico cum trecentis prae-
4 sidiariis solus adtrivit. refert Theoclius, Caesareanorum temporum scriptor, Aurelianum manu sua bello Sarmatico una die quadraginta et octo interfecisse, plurimis autem et diversis diebus ultra nongentos quinquaginta, adeo ut etiam ballistia pueri et saltatiunculas in[1] Aurelianum tales componerent,[2] quibus diebus festis militariter saltitarent:

5 "Mille mille mille decollavimus.
unus homo mille decollavimus.
mille bibat[3] quisquis[4] mille occidit.
tantum vini nemo habet quantum fudit sanguinis."

[1] *in* om. in P. [2] *componerent* Σ, editors; om. in P. [3] *bibat* Bücheler, Hohl; *uiuat* P, Σ, Peter. [4] *quisquis* Basore; *qui* P, Σ, Peter.

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[1] In Juvenal, xii. 106-107, elephants are designated as *Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum | privato.*

[2] Similarly, a centurion in the army of the Danube in A.D. 14 had the nickname of "Cedo alteram" ("Give-me-another"); see Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 23, 4.

[3] Otherwise unknown.

of Aurelian had been a priestess. He was also presented with an elephant of unusual size, which he then gave to the emperor, and Aurelian was the only commoner of them all who ever owned an elephant.[1]

VI. But, to omit these and similar details, he was a comely man, good to look upon because of his manly grace, rather tall in stature, and very strong in his muscles; he was a little too fond of wine and food, but indulged his passions rarely; he exercised the greatest severity and a discipline that had no equal, being extremely ready to draw his sword. And, in fact, since there were in the army two tribunes, both named Aurelian, this man and another, who later was captured with Valerian, the soldiers gave him the nickname of "Sword-in-hand," [2] so that, if anyone chanced to ask which Aurelian had done anything or performed any exploit, the reply would be made "Aurelian Sword-in-hand," and so he would be identified.

Many of the remarkable deeds which he did as a commoner are still well known: For instance, he and three hundred men of his garrison alone destroyed the Sarmatians when they burst into Illyricum. Theoclius,[3] who wrote of the reigns of the Caesars, relates that in the war against the Sarmatians Aurelian with his own hand slew forty-eight men in a single day and that in the course of several days he slew over nine hundred and fifty, so that the boys even composed in his honour the following jingles and dance-ditties, to which they would dance on holidays in soldier fashion:

"Thousand, thousand, thousand we've beheaded now.
One alone, a thousand we've beheaded now.
He shall drink a thousand who a thousand slew.
So much wine is owned by no one as the blood which
he has shed."

6 haec video esse perfrivola, sed quia supra scriptus auctor ita eadem ut sunt Latina suis scriptis inseruit,
VII. tacenda esse non credidi. idem apud Mogontiacum tribunus legionis sextae Gallicanae Francos inruentes, cum vagarentur per totam Galliam, sic adflixit ut trecentos ex his captos septingentis interemptis sub
2 corona vendiderit. unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena :

"Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus,
mille Persas quaerimus."

3 Hic autem, ut supra diximus,[1] militibus ita timori fuit ut sub eo, posteaquam semel cum ingenti severitate castrensia peccata correxit, nemo peccaverit.
4 solus denique omnium militem, qui adulterium cum hospitis uxore commiserat, ita punivit ut duarum arborum capita inflecteret, ad pedes militis deligaret easdemque subito dimitteret, ut scissus ille utrimque penderet. quae res ingentem timorem omnibus fecit.

5 Huius epistula militaris est ad vicarium suum data huius modi : "Si vis tribunus esse, immo si vis vivere, manus militum contine. nemo pullum alienum rapiat, ovem nemo contingat. uvam nullus auferat, segetem nemo deterat, oleum, salem, lignum nemo exigat, annona sua contentus sit. de praeda hostis, non de

[1] *diximus* om. in P.

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[1] Presumably during the German invasions of 254-258. No Legio VI Gallicana is known.

[2] The same punishment, but for a different offence, was used by Alexander the Great; see Plutarch, *Alex.*, 43, 3.

I perceive, indeed, that these verses are very trivial, but since the author mentioned before has included them in his writings, in Latin just as they are here, I have thought they ought not to be omitted. VII. Likewise, when at Mainz as tribune of the Sixth Legion, the Gallican,[1] he completely crushed the Franks, who had burst into Gaul and were roving about through the whole country, killing seven hundred of them and capturing three hundred, whom he then sold as slaves. And so a song was again composed about him:

"Franks, Sarmatians by the thousand, once and once again we've slain.
Now we seek a thousand Persians."

He was, moreover, so feared by the soldiers, as I have said before, that, after he had once punished offences in the camp with the utmost severity, no one offended again. In fact, he alone among all commanders inflicted the following punishment on a soldier who had committed adultery with the wife of the man at whose house he was lodged: bending down the tops of two trees, he fastened them to the soldier's feet and then let them fly upward so suddenly that the man hung there torn in two[2]—a penalty which inspired great terror in all.

There is a letter of his, truly that of a soldier, written to his deputy, as follows: "If you wish to be tribune, or rather, if you wish to remain alive, restrain the hands of your soldiers. None shall steal another's fowl or touch his sheep. None shall carry off grapes, or thresh out grain, or exact oil, salt, or firewood, and each shall be content with his own allowance. Let

6 lacrimis provincialium victum[1] habeant. arma tersa sint, ferramenta samiata, calciamenta fortia. vestis nova vestem veterem excludat. stipendium in balteo,
7 non in popina habeat. torquem, brachialem, anulum adponat. equum et sagmarium suum defricet, capitum animalis non vendat, mulum centuriatum
8 communiter curent. alter alteri quasi miles,[2] nemo quasi servus obsequatur, a medicis gratis curentur, haruspicibus nihil dent, in hospitiis caste se agant, qui litem fecerit vapulet."

VIII. Inveni nuper in Ulpia Bibliotheca inter linteos libros epistulam divi Valeriani de Aureliano principe scriptam, quam ad verbum, ut decebat, inserui.

2 "Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli. culpas me familiaribus litteris, quod Postumo filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim, cum utique severiori et puer credendus fuerit et exercitus. ne tu[3] id diutius iudicabis, si bene scieris
3 quantae sit Aurelianus severitatis; nimius est, multus est, gravis est et ad nostra iam non facit tempora.
4 testor autem omnes me etiam timuisse, ne quid etiam erga filium meum severius, si quid ille fecisset, cum— ut est natura pronus ad ludicra—levius cogitaret."

[1] *uictum* ins. by Novák; om. in P and by Hohl; *habeant* replaced by *uiuant* by Peter. [2] *miles* Obrecht, Peter[1]; *in* P. [3] *ne tu* P, Σ, def. by Baehrens and Hohl; *nec tamen* Peter.

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[1] See *Claud.*, xiii. 8 and note. [2] See c. i. 7 and notes.
[3] No consul of this name is known.
[4] This is certainly an error, probably due to confusion with the fact that Gallienus entrusted his son Valerian to the care of Silvanus; see notes to *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 1.

them get their living from the booty taken from the enemy and not from the tears of the provincials. Their arms shall be kept burnished, their implements bright, and their boots stout. Let old uniforms be replaced by new. Let them keep their pay in their belts and not spend it in public-houses. Let them wear their collars, arm-rings,[1] and finger-rings. Let each man curry his own horse and baggage-animal, let no one sell the fodder allowed him for his beast, and let them take care in common of the mule belonging to the century. Let one yield obedience to another as a soldier and no one as a slave, let them be attended by the physicians without charge, let them give no fees to soothsayers, let them conduct themselves in their lodgings with propriety, and let anyone who begins a brawl be thrashed."

VIII. I have recently found among the linen books in the Ulpian Library[2] a letter, written by the Deified Valerian concerning the Emperor Aurelian, which I have inserted word for word, as seemed right:

"From Valerian Augustus to Antoninus Gallus,[3] the consul. You find fault with me in a personal letter for confiding my son Gallienus[4] to Postumus rather than to Aurelian, on the ground, of course, that both the boy and the army should be entrusted to the sterner man. Of a truth you will continue to hold this opinion when once you have learned how stern Aurelian is; for he is too stern, much too stern, he is harsh and his actions are not suited to those of our time. Moreover, I call all to witness that I have even feared that he will act too sternly toward my son also, in case he does aught in behaving with too great frivolity—for he is naturally

haec epistula indicat quantae fuerit severitatis, ut illum Valerianus etiam timuisse se dicat.

IX. Eiusdem Valeriani alia est epistula, quae laudes illius continet. quam ego ex scriniis praefecturae urbanae protuli. nam illi Romam venienti salaria sui ordinis sunt decreta. exemplum epistulae:

2 "Valerianus Augustus Ceionio Albino praefecto urbi. vellemus quidem singulis quibusque devotissimis rei publicae viris multo maiora deferre compendia quam eorum dignitas postulat, maxime ubi honorem vita commendat—debet enim quid praeter dignitatem pretium esse meritorum,—sed facit rigor publicus ut accipere de provinciarum inlationibus ultra ordinis
3 sui gradum nemo plus possit. Aurelianum, fortissimum virum, ad inspicienda et ordinanda castra omnia destinavimus, cui tantum a nobis atque ab omni re publica communi totius exercitus confessione debetur, ut digna illo vix aliqua vel nimis magna sint
4 munera. quid enim in illo non clarum? quid non Corvinis et Scipionibus conferendum? ille liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum restitutor, ille dux magni
5 totius exempli. et tamen nihil praeter ea possum
6 addere tanto viro ad muneris gratiam; non[1] patitur sobrie et bene gerenda res publica. quare Sinceritas

[1] *non* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] Perhaps M. Nummius Ceionius Annius Albinus of *C. I. L.*, vi. 314 *b*, who may be identical with the Nummius Albinus who was prefect of the city in 256; but see note to *Cl. Alb.*, iv. 1.

[2] M. Valerius Corvus (or Corvinus), six times consul between 348 and 299 B.C. and victor over the Volsci and Samnites, and his descendants, especially M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,

prone to merry-making." This letter shows how great was his sternness, so that even Valerian said that he feared him.

IX. There is another letter by the same Valerian, sounding his praises, which I have brought out from the files of the city-prefecture. For when he came to Rome the allowance usually made to his rank was assigned to him. A copy of the letter:

"From Valerian Augustus to Ceionius Albinus,[1] the prefect of the city. It had, indeed, been our wish to bestow on each and every man who has been loyal to the commonwealth a much larger recompense than his rank demands, but especially when his manner of life recommends him for honours—for there should be some other reward for merit than rank—, but the public discipline requires that none shall receive from the income of the provinces a greater sum than the grade of his position permits. Wherefore we have now chosen Aurelian, a very brave man, to inspect and set in order all our camps, for, by the general admission of the entire army, both we ourselves and the whole commonwealth as well are so in his debt that there are scarcely any rewards that are worthy of him, or, indeed, too great. For what quality has he that is not illustrious? that cannot be compared with the Corvini[2] and the Scipios? He is liberator of Illyricum, saviour of the provinces of Gaul, and as a general a great and perfect example. And yet there is nothing but this that I can bestow on such a man by way of reward for his services; for a wise and careful administration of the commonwealth will not permit it. Wherefore your

famous as a general in the early principate of Augustus and the patron of Tibullus.

tua, mi parens carissime, supra dicto viro adiciet,[1] quamdiu Romae fuerit, panes militares mundos sedecim, panes militares castrenses quadraginta, vini mensalis sextarios quadraginta, porcellum dimidium, gallinaceos duos, porcinae pondo triginta, bubulae pondo quadraginta, olei sextarium unum et item liquaminis sextarium unum, salis sextarium unum, 7 herbarum[2] holerum quantum sat est. sane quoniam ei aliquid praecipue decernendum est, quamdiu Romae fuerit, pabula extra ordinem decernes, ipsi autem ad sumptus aureos Antoninianos diurnos binos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, aeris denarios centum. reliqua per praefectos aerarii praebebuntur."

X. Frivola haec fortassis cuipiam et nimis levia esse 2 videantur, sed curiositas nihil recusat. habuit ergo multos ducatus, plurimos tribunatus, vicarias[3] ducum et tribunorum diversis temporibus prope quadraginta,

[1] *adiciet* Gruter, Madvig, Peter[2]; *adficiet* P, Peter[1].
[2] *herbas* P. [3] *uacarios* P.

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[1] These coins are also mentioned in similar "letters" in c. xii. 1; *Prob*., iv. 5; *Firm*., xv. 8. That gold coins of any of the Antonines were current at the time when these "letters" were supposed to have been written is very doubtful. The name Antoninianus is usually applied (though with no other warrant than these "letters") to the new silver coin that was issued by Caracalla and the later emperors of the third century, but there is no reason to suppose that it was ever given to the *aureus*. The term Philippeus was familiar, from long-standing tradition, as a designation for the aureus (see note to *Claud*., xiv. 3), but neither the small silver minutuli (see note to *Alex*.,

Integrity, my dearest kinsman, will supply the aforesaid man, as long as he shall be in Rome, with sixteen loaves of soldiers' bread of the finest quality, forty loaves of soldiers' bread of the quality used in camp, forty pints of table-wine, the half of a swine, two fowl, thirty pounds of pork, forty pounds of beef, one pint of oil and likewise one pint of fish-pickle, one pint of salt, and greens and vegetables as much as shall be sufficient. And indeed, since something out of the ordinary must be allowed him, as long as he shall be in Rome, you will allow him fodder beyond the usual amount and for his own expenses, moreover, a daily grant of two aurei of Antoninus,[1] fifty silver minutuli of Philip, and one hundred denarii of bronze.[2] All else will be furnished by the prefects of the treasury [3]."

X. These details may perhaps seem to someone to be paltry and over trivial, but research stops at nothing. He held, then, very many commands as general and very many as tribune, and acted as deputy for generals or tribunes on about forty different occasions.

xxii. 8) nor the bronze coins had any possible connection with Philip of Macedonia, nor is there any reason to suppose that they took their name from Philippus Arabs, who did not institute any reform in the coinage. It would seem that the author, failing to understand the real significance of the term Philippeus and supposing that it was derived from the name of the emperor, has applied both it and Antoninianus to all coins indiscriminately, for the purpose of creating the impression of greater learning; see Menadier, p. 27 f.; p. 47 f.

[2] The expression *aeris denarios* is nonsense, since these coins were not made of bronze but of base metal washed with silver.

[3] The statement that supplies will be furnished to an army officer by the prefect of the *aerarium* (the old senatorial treasury) is sufficient evidence that this letter is a forgery. Equally fictitious is this official in c. xii. 1 and c. xx. 8.

usque adeo ut etiam Ulpii Criniti, qui se de Traiani genere referebat, et fortissimi re vera viri et Traiani simillimi, qui pictus est cum eodem Aureliano in Templo Solis, quem Valerianus Caesaris loco habere instituerat, vicem sumeret, exercitum duceret, limites restitueret, praedam militibus daret, Thracias bubus, equis, mancipiis captivis locupletaret, manubias in Palatio conlocaret, quingentos servos, duo milia vaccarum, equas mille, ovium decem milia, caprearum quindecim in privatam villam Valeriani congereret.
3 tunc enim[1] Ulpius Crinitus publice apud Byzantium sedenti Valeriano in thermis egit gratias, dicens magnum de se iudicium habitum, quod eidem vicarium Aurelianum dedisset. quare eum statuit adrogare.

XI. Interest epistulas nosse de Aureliano scriptas et ipsam adrogationem. epistula Valeriani ad Aurelianum: "Si esset alius, Aureliane iucundissime, qui Ulpii Criniti vicem posset implere, tecum de eius virtute ac sedulitate conferrem. nunc tu—cum alium non[2] requirere potuissem—suscipe bellum a parte
2 Nicopolis, ne nobis aegritudo Criniti obsit. fac quicquid potes. multa non dico. in tua erit potestate
3 militiae magisterium. habes sagittarios Ituraeos trecentos, Armenios sescentos, Arabas centum quin-

[1] *cum* P. [2] So Editor; *tecum* P; lacuna assumed by Peter[2] after *tu, cum*; *te cum* <*non meliorem*> Hohl.

[1] Mentioned also in c. xxxviii. 2-3, but otherwise unknown. It is probably true that under Valerian Aurelian was engaged in the defence of Thrace against the Goths, but the episode as developed in the following chapters, with the account of Valerian's audience at Constantinople, the adoption of Aurelian and his appointment to the consulship, all embellished with

Indeed, he even acted as deputy for Ulpius Crinitus,[1] who used to assert that he was of the house of Trajan —he was, in actual fact, a most brave man and very similar to Trajan—, who was painted together with Aurelian in the Temple of the Sun, and whom Valerian had planned to appoint to the place of a Caesar. He also commanded troops, restored the frontiers, distributed booty among the soldiers, enriched the provinces of Thrace with captured cattle, horses, and slaves, dedicated spoils in the Palace, and brought together to a private estate of Valerian's five hundred slaves, two thousand cows, one thousand mares, ten thousand sheep, and fifteen thousand goats. At this time, then, Ulpius Crinitus gave thanks formally to Valerian as he sat in the public baths at Byzantium, saying that he had done him great honour in giving him Aurelian as deputy. And for this reason he determined to adopt Aurelian.

XI. It is of interest to know the letters that were written concerning Aurelian and also the account of his adoption itself. Valerian's letter to Aurelian: "If there were anyone else, my dearest Aurelian, who could fill the place of Ulpius Crinitus, I should be consulting with you in regard to his courage and industry. But now do you—since I could not have found any other—take upon yourself the war around Nicopolis,[2] in order that the illness of Crinitus may cause us no damage. Do whatever you can. I will be brief. The command of the troops will be vested in you. You will have three hundred Ituraean bowmen, six hundred Armenians, one hundred and fifty

fabricated "documents," must be considered an invention of the author's.

[2] See *Claud.*, xii. 4 and note.

quaginta, Saracenos ducentos, Mesopotamenos auxili-
4 ares quadringentos ; habes legionem tertiam Felicem
et equites cataphractarios octingentos. tecum erit
Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus, Chariovis-
5 cus. commeatus a praefectis necessarius in omnibus
6 castris est constitutus. tuum est pro virtutibus tuis
atque sollertia illic hiemalia et aestiva disponere ubi
tibi nihil deerit, quaerere praeterea ubi carrago sit
hostium, et vere scire quanti qualesque sint, ut non
in vanum [1] aut annona consumatur aut tela iaciantur,
7 in quibus res bellica constituta est. ego de te tantum
deo favente spero quantum de Traiano, si viveret,
posset sperare res publica. neque enim minor est,
8 in cuius locum vicemque [2] te legi. consulatum cum
eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum sequentem a die un-
decimo kal. Iuniarum in locum Gallieni et Valeriani
9 sperare te convenit sumptu publico. levanda est
enim paupertas eorum hominum, qui diu in re publica
10 viventes pauperes sunt, et nullorum magis." his quo-
que litteris indicatur quantus fuerit Aurelianus ; et re
vera,[3] neque enim quisquam aliquando ad summam
rerum pervenit qui non a prima aetate gradibus
virtutis ascenderit.

XII. Litterae de consulatu :

"Valerianus Augustus Aelio Xiphidio praefecto

[1] *uanum* Madvig, Peter[2]; *uinum* P, Σ. [2] *uicemque* Cas., Cornelissen, Hohl; *fidemque* P, Σ, Peter. [3] So P, Σ, foll. by Hohl ; *a puero* Peter[2].

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[1] Mentioned also in a "speech" of Valerian's in *Prob.*, v. 6, but otherwise unknown, for none of the five Third Legions of which we know had the cognomen Felix.

[2] See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

[3] Evidently intended to be names of German chieftains in Roman service.

Arabs, two hundred Saracens, and four hundred irregulars from Mesopotamia; you will have the Third Legion, the Fortunate,[1] and eight hundred mounted cuirassiers.[2] You will also have with you Hariomundus, Haldagates, Hildomundus and Chariovisicus.[3] The prefects have arranged for the needful supplies in all the camps. Your duty it is, with the aid of your wisdom and skill, to place your winter and summer camps where you will lack nothing, and, furthermore, to ascertain where the enemy's train is, and to find out exactly how great his forces are and of what kind, in order that no supplies may be used in vain or weapons wasted, for on these depends all success in war. I, for my part, expect as much from you, if the gods but grant their favour, as the commonwealth could expect from Trajan, were he still alive. And indeed, he, in whose place I have made you deputy, is no less great a man. It is, therefore, proper that you should expect the consulship,[4] with this same Ulpius Crinitus as colleague, for the following year, beginning on the eleventh day before the Kalends of June, to fill out the term of Gallienus and Valerian, and your expenses shall be paid from the public funds. For we should aid the poverty of those men—and of none more than those—who after a long life in public affairs are nevertheless poor." This letter also shows how great a man Aurelian was—and truly great, indeed, for no one ever reached the highest place who did not from his earliest years climb up by the ladder of noble character.

XII. The letter about the consulship: "From Valerian Augustus to Aelius Xiphidius,[5] the prefect

[4] Aurelian's first consulship was, in fact, in 271.
[5] Otherwise unknown and probably fictitious.

aerarii. Aureliano, cui consulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus est, ceteris maior, dabis ad editionem circensium aureos Antoninianos trecentos, argenteos Philippeos minutulos tria milia, in aere sestertium quinquagies, tunicas multicias viriles decem, lineas Aegyptias viginti, mantelia Cypria paria duo, tapetia Afra decem, stragula Maura
2 decem, porcos centum, oves centum. convivium autem publicum edi iubebis senatoribus et [1] equitibus Romanis, hostias maiores duas, minores quattuor."
3 Et quoniam etiam de adrogatione aliqua me dixeram positurum quae ad tantum principem pertinerent,
4 quaeso ne odiosior verbosiorve in ea re videar, quam fidei causa inserendam credidi ex libris Acholii, qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis fuit, libro actorum eius nono:

XIII. Cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium, praesente exercitu, praesente etiam officio Palatino, adsidentibus Nummio [2] Tusco consule ordinario, Baebio Macro praefecto praetorii, Quinto Anchario praeside orientis, adsidentibus etiam a parte laeva Avulnio Saturnino Scythici limitis duce et Murrentio Mauricio ad

[1] *et* om in P. [2] *Nummio* Fasti Cons., Hohl; *Nemmio* P; *Memmio* Peter.

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[1] See c. ix. 7 and note.

[2] See *Alex.*, xiv. 6 and note.

[3] In the early empire known as *ab admissione*, a freedman whose duty it was to admit persons to audiences with the emperor. The title *magister admissionum* was held in the Byzantine period by an official of high degree, but this reference is the only evidence for the existence of the office as early as the third century and it is probably a fabrication.

of the treasury. To Aurelian, whom we have named for the consulship, because of his poverty—in which he is great and greater than all others—you will supply for the performance of the races in the Circus three hundred aurei of Antoninus,[1] three thousand silver minutuli of Philip, five million bronze sesterces, ten finely-woven tunics of the kind used by men, twenty tunics of Egyptian linen, two pairs of Cyprian table-covers, ten African carpets, ten Moorish couch-covers, one hundred swine, and one hundred sheep. You will order, moreover, that a banquet shall be given at the state's expense to the senators and Roman knights, and that there shall be two sacrificial victims of major and four of minor size."

And now, inasmuch as I have said in reference to his adoption that I would include certain things which concern so great a prince, I ask you not to consider me too tedious or too wordy in the following statement, which I have thought I should introduce, for the sake of accuracy, from the work of Acholius,[2] the master of admissions[3] under the Emperor Valerian, in the ninth book of his records:

XIII. When Valerian Augustus had taken his seat in the public baths at Byzantium, in the presence of the army and in the presence of the officials of the Palace, there being seated with him Nummius Tuscus, the consul-regular,[4] Baebius Macer,[5] prefect of the 258
guard, and Quintus Ancharius, governor of the East, and seated on his left hand Avulnius Saturninus, general in command of the Scythian frontier, Murrentius Mauricius, just appointed to Egypt,

[4] See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.
[5] Unknown, like all those whose names follow.

Aegyptum destinato et Iulio Tryphone orientalis limitis duce et Maecio Brundisino praefecto annonae orientis et Ulpio Crinito duce Illyriciani limitis et Thracici et Fulvio Boio duce Raetici limitis, Valeri-
2 anus Augustus dixit: "Gratias tibi agit, Aureliane, res publica, quod eam a Gothorum potestate liberasti. abundamus per te praeda, abundamus gloria et iis
3 omnibus quibus Romana felicitas crescit. cape igitur tibi pro rebus gestis tuis coronas murales quattuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, hastas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quattuor, tunicas russas ducales quattuor, pallia proconsularia duo, togam praetextam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, subarmalem profundum,
4 sellam eburatam. nam te consulem hodie designo, scripturus ad senatum, ut tibi deputet scipionem, deputet etiam fasces; haec enim imperator non solet
XIV. dare, sed a senatu, quando fit consul, accipere." post haec Valeriani dicta Aurelianus surrexit atque ad manus accessit agens gratias militaribus verbis, quae propria et ipsa adponenda decrevi. Aurelianus dixit:
2 "Et ego, domine Valeriane, imperator Auguste, ideo cuncta feci, ideo vulnera patienter excepi, ideo et

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[1] Made of gold with a decoration in the form of a battlement, presented to the man who first scaled the enemy's wall.

[2] Made of gold with a decoration in the form of a rampart, presented for forcing a way into a hostile camp.

[3] Made of gold and adorned with the beaks of ships, presented to the man who first boarded an enemy's ship.

[4] See *Marc.*, xii. 8 and note.

[5] Frequently presented as a mark of distinction (so also *Prob.*, v. 1.)

[6] See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.

[7] Originally carried by the triumphant general on the day

Julius Trypho, general in command of the frontier of the East, Maecius Brundisinus, prefect of the grain-supply for the East, Ulpius Crinitus, general in command of the Illyrian and Thracian frontier, and Fulvius Boius, general in command of the Raetian frontier, Valerian Augustus spoke as follows: "The commonwealth thanks you, Aurelian, for having set it free from the power of the Goths. Through your efforts we are rich in booty, we are rich in glory and in all that causes the felicity of Rome to increase. Now, therefore, in return for your great achievements receive for yourself four mural crowns,[1] five rampart crowns,[2] two naval crowns,[3] two civic crowns,[4] ten spears without points,[5] four bi-coloured banners, four red general's tunics, two proconsul's cloaks, a bordered toga, a tunic embroidered with palms,[6] a gold-embroidered toga, a long under-tunic, and an ivory-chair. For on this day I appoint you consul, and I will write to the senate that it may vote you the sceptre of office[7] and vote you also the fasces; for these insignia the emperor is not wont to give, but, on the contrary, to receive from the senate when he is created consul." XIV. After this speech of Valerian's Aurelian arose and bending over the Emperor's hand, he expressed his thanks in words befitting a soldier, and these I have considered suitable and worthy of being quoted here. He spoke as follows: "As for myself, my lord Valerian, Emperor and Augustus, it was with this end in view that I have done all that I did, have suffered wounds with patience, and have exhausted my horses and my

of his triumph, but from the second century onward, like the other insignia of office here mentioned, permitted to the consul on the occasion of his solemn procession to the Capitol.

equos et coniuratos meos lassavi, ut mihi gratias
3 ageret res publica et conscientia mea. at tu plus
fecisti. ago ergo [1] gratias bonitati tuae et accipio
consulatum, quem das. deus faciat, et deus certus,
4 ut et senatus de me sic iudicet." agentibus igitur
gratias omnibus circumstantibus Ulpius Crinitus sur-
5 rexit atque hac oratione usus est: "Apud maiores
nostros, Valeriane Auguste, quod et familiae meae
amicum ac proprium fuit, ab optimis quibusque in
filiorum locum fortissimi viri semper electi sunt, ut
vel senescentes familias vel fetus matrimoniis iam
6 caducos substitutae fecunditas prolis ornaret. hoc
igitur, quod Cocceius Nerva in Traiano adoptando,
quod Ulpius Traianus in Hadriano, quod Hadrianus
in Antonino et ceteri deinceps proposita suggestione
fecerunt, in adrogando Aureliano, quem mihi vicarium
iudicii tui auctoritate fecisti, censui esse referendum.
7 iube igitur ut lege agatur, sitque Aurelianus heres
sacrorum, nominis et bonorum totiusque iuris Ulpio
Crinito iam consulari viro, ipse actutum te iudice con-
XV. sularis." longum est cuncta pertexere. nam et
actae sunt Crinito a Valeriano gratiae, et adoptio, ut
2 solebat, impleta. memini me in quodam libro Graeco
legisse, quod tacendum esse non credidi, mandatum

[1] *ego* P.

sworn comrades, namely, that I might win the approval of the commonwealth and of my own conscience. You, however, have done more. Therefore, I am grateful for your kindness and I will accept the consulship which you offer me. May a god, and a god in whom we can put our trust, now grant that the senate also shall form a like judgement concerning me." And so, when all who stood about expressed their thanks, Ulpius Crinitus arose and delivered the following speech: "According to the custom of our ancestors, Valerian Augustus,—a custom which my own family has held particularly dear,—men of the highest birth have always chosen the most courageous to be their sons, in order that those families which either were dying out or had lost their offspring by marriage might gain lustre from the fertility of a borrowed stock. This custom, then, which was followed by Nerva in adopting Trajan, by Trajan in adopting Hadrian, by Hadrian in adopting Antoninus, and by the others after them according to the precedent thus established, I have thought I should now bring back by adopting Aurelian, whom you, by the authority of your approval, have given to me as my deputy. Do you, therefore, give the order that it may be sanctioned by law and that Aurelian may become heir to the sacred duties, the name, the goods, and the legal rights of Ulpius Crinitus, already a man of consular rank, even as through your decision he is straightway to become a consular." XV. It would be too long to include every detail in full. For Valerian expressed his gratitude to Crinitus, and the adoption was carried out in the wonted form. I remember having read in some Greek book what I have thought I ought not to omit, namely, that Valerian commanded

esse Crinito a Valeriano ut Aurelianus adoptaretur, idcirco praecipue quod pauper esset; sed hoc in medio relinquendum puto.

3 Et quoniam superius epistulam posui, qua sumptus Aureliano ad consulatum delatus est, quare posuerim
4 rem quasi frivolam eloquendum putavi: vidimus proxime consulatum Furii Placidi tanto ambitu in Circo editum ut non praemia dari aurigis sed patrimonia viderentur, cum darentur tunicae subsericae, lineae paragaudae, darentur etiam equi, ingemescenti-
5 bus frugi hominibus. factum est enim ut iam divitiarum sit, non hominum consulatus, quia utique si virtutibus defertur, editorem spoliare non debet.
6 perierunt casta illa tempora et magis ambitione populari peritura sunt. sed nos, ut solemus, hanc quoque rem in medio relinquemus.[1]

XVI. His igitur tot ac talibus praeiudiciis muneribusque fultus Claudianis temporibus tantus enituit, ut post eum Quintillo quoque eius fratre interempto solus teneret imperium Aureolo interfecto, cum quo Galli-
2 enus fecerat pacem. hoc loco tanta est diversitas historicorum, et quidem Graecorum, ut alii dicant invito Claudio ab Aureliano Aureolum interfectum,

[1] *relinquemus* von Winterfeld; *relinquimus* P, editors.

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[1] No such consul is known.

[2] See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.

[3] The *vita* omits any mention of Aurelian's participation in Gallienus' campaign against Aureolus at Milan (see Zonaras, xii. 25) and of his share in the conspiracy for the murder of Gallienus (see *Gall.*, xiv. 1 and note).

[4] See *Claud.*, xii. 2-6.

[5] There is no reason to suppose that Aurelian had anything

Crinitus to adopt Aurelian, chiefly for the reason that he was poor; but this question I think should be left undiscussed.

Now, inasmuch as I have previously inserted the letter in accordance with which Aurelian was furnished with the money needed for his consulship, I have thought I should tell why I inserted a detail apparently trivial. We have recently beheld the consulship of Furius Placidus[1] celebrated in the Circus with so much display that the chariot-drivers seemed to receive not prizes but patrimonies, for they were presented with tunics of part-silk, with embroidered tunics[2] made of fine linen, and even with horses, while right-thinking men groaned aloud. For it has come to pass that the consulship is now a matter of wealth, not of men, because, of course, if it is offered to merit, it ought not to impoverish the holder. Gone are those former days of integrity, destined to disappear still further through the currying of popular favour. But this question, too, as is our wont, we shall leave undiscussed.

XVI. So then, raised to a high position by these many expressions of approval and these rewards, Aurelian became so illustrious during the time of Claudius[3] that, after this emperor's death and the murder of his brother Quintillus,[4] he alone received the imperial power; for Aureolus, with whom Gallienus had made peace, had been put to death. Concerning this matter there is great diversity of opinion among the historians, even among the Greeks, for some say that Aureolus was killed by Aurelian against Claudius' will,[5] others that it was by his

to do with the death of Aureolus, who was killed by his soldiers; see *Claud.*, v. 1-3.

alii mandante ac volente, alii ab imperatore iam Aureliano eundem occisum, alii vero adhuc a privato.
3 sed haec quoque media relinquemus, ab ipsis petenda,
4 per quos in litteras missa sunt. illud tamen constat omne contra Maeotidas bellum divum Claudium nulli magis quam Aureliano credidisse.

XVII. Exstat epistula, quam ego, ut soleo, fidei causa, immo ut alios annalium scriptores fecisse video, inserendam putavi:

2 "Flavius Claudius Valerio Aureliano suo salutem. expetit a te munus solitum nostra res publica. adgredere. quid moraris? tuo magisterio milites uti volo, tuo ductu tribunos. Gothi oppugnandi sunt, Gothi a Thraciis amovendi. eorum enim plerique Haemimontum Europamque vexant, qui te pugnante
3 fugerunt. omnes exercitus Thracicos, omnes Illyricianos, totumque limitem in tua potestate constituo; solitam en nobis ede virtutem. tecum erit etiam
4 frater Quintillus, cum occurrerit. ego aliis rebus occupatus summam belli illius virtutibus tuis credo. misi sane equos decem, loricas duas et cetera quibus munire ad bellum euntem necessitas cogit."

5 Secundis igitur proeliis usus auspiciis Claudianis rem publicam in integrum reddidit atque ipse statim,

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[1] *i.e.*, the Eruli, thus called because they came from the shores of Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov); on their invasion see *Claud.*, vi.-xi. Aurelian seems to have distinguished himself in the course of this war (see also c. xvii. 5), and after a serious disaster to the cavalry toward its close (*Claud.*, xi. 6-8) to have been appointed by Claudius to the command of the whole cavalry (c. xviii. 1) and thereupon to have avenged the previous defeat.

[2] These names were never borne by Claudius and Aurelian; see note to *Claud.*, i. 1.

command and desire, others again that he was killed by Aurelian after assuming the imperial power, and still others that it was while he was yet a commoner. But these things, too, we shall leave undiscussed, to be learned from those who have put them in writing. This much, however, is agreed among all, namely, that the Deified Claudius entrusted the whole conduct of the war against the Maeotidae[1] to no one in preference to Aurelian.

XVII. There is still in existence a letter, which, for the sake of accuracy, as is my wont, or rather because I see that other writers of annals have done so, I have thought I should insert: "From Flavius Claudius to his dear Valerius[2] Aurelian greeting: Our commonwealth demands of you your wonted services. Up then! Why this delay? I wish the soldiers to reap the benefit of your command, the tribunes of your leadership. The Goths must be crushed, they must be driven from Thrace. For large numbers of them are ravaging Haemimontum[3] and Europe, those very ones who fled when you fought against them. I now place under your command all the armies in Thrace, all in Illyricum, and, in fact, the whole frontier; come now, show us your wonted prowess. My brother Quintillus, as soon as he meets you, will also give you his aid. Busied as I am with other tasks, I am entrusting to your valour the whole of this war. I am sending you, moreover, ten horses, two cuirasses, and all else with which necessity bids me equip one going out to fight."

So, making use of success won in battles fought under Claudius' auspices, he brought back the empire

[3] See *Claud.*, xi. 3 and note.

ut supra diximus, consensu omnium legionum factus est imperator.

XVIII. Equites sane omnes ante imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, cum offensam magistri eorum incurrissent, quod temere Claudio non iubente pugnassent.

2 Item Aurelianus contra Suebos et Sarmatas iisdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit ac florentissi-
3 mam victoriam rettulit. accepta est sane clades sub Aureliano a Marcomannis per errorem. nam dum iis a fronte non curat occurrere subito erumpentibus, dumque illos a dorso persequi parat, omnia circa Mediolanum graviter evastata sunt. postea tamen ipsi quoque Marcomanni superati sunt.

4 In illo autem timore, quo Marcomanni cuncta vastabant, ingentes Romae seditiones motae sunt paven-

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[1] Before 25 May, 270, on which day he appears in a papyrus as emperor. Immediately after Claudius' death, in the spring of 270, Quintillus was proclaimed emperor in Italy; see *Claud.*, xii. 2-5 and notes. According to Zonaras, xii. 26, Quintillus and Aurelian were proclaimed simultaneously, the former by the senate and the latter by the army. This would seem to mean that the army, recently victorious over the Goths, refused to acknowledge the unwarlike Quintillus and bestowed the imperial power on its most competent general, then in Pannonia, whereupon Quintillus committed suicide (cf. c. xxxvii. 6).

[2] See *Claud.*, xi. 6-8.

[3] More correctly, Juthungi, akin to the Alamanni and, like them, living north of the upper Danube. Taking advantage of the disturbances folllowing Claudius' death, they invaded Raetia in 270 and seem even to have entered northern Italy. On the news of Aurelian's approach from Pannonia they withdrew, but were overtaken south of the Danube by Aurelian and defeated in a great battle. A speech, supposedly delivered by Aurelian to their envoys after this battle, is preserved from the *Σκυθικά* of Dexippus; see *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iii. p. 682 f.

to its previous condition and was at once, as we have related before, declared emperor by the unanimous voice of all the legions.[1]

XVIII. Aurelian, in fact, commanded all the cavalry before he received the power and while Claudius was still ruling, after the leaders of the horse had incurred reproach for having fought rashly and without the Emperor's orders.[2]

Aurelian, too, during that same time, fought with the greatest vigour against the Suebi[3] and the Sarmatians[4] and won a most splendid victory.[5] Under him, it is true, a disaster was inflicted by the Marcomanni[6] as the result of his blunder. For, while he was making no plan to meet them face to face during a sudden invasion, but was preparing to pursue them from the rear, they wrought great devastation in all the region around Milan. Later on, however, he conquered even the Marcomanni also.

During that panic, moreover, while the Marcomanni were devastating far and wide, great revolts arose at Rome,[7] for all were afraid that what had happened

[4] This invasion seems to have necessitated Aurelian's return to Pannonia immediately after his defeat of the Juthungi.

[5] The biographer here omits any mention of Aurelian's journey to Rome, in the late summer of 270, and his reception by the senate, which was soon followed by a rapid return to Pannonia in order to repel an invasion of Vandals; see Zosimus, i. 48.

[6] More correctly, Alamanni and Juthungi. They invaded Italy in the winter of 270-271, while Aurelian was absent fighting against the Vandals. Aurelian hurried to meet them, but the *vita* fails to make his tactics clear; it would seem that he tried to attack them from the north as they were advancing. He then followed them and was badly defeated at Placentia (c. xxi. 1-3), while the invaders continued their advance.

[7] See c. xxi. 5-6.

tibus cunctis, ne eadem quae sub Gallieno fuerant
5 provenirent. quare etiam Libri Sibyllini noti beneficiis publicis inspecti sunt, inventumque ut in certis locis sacrificia fierent, quae barbari transire non possent.
6 facta denique sunt ea quae praecepta fuerant in diverso caerimoniarum genere, atque ita barbari restiterunt, quos omnes Aurelianus carptim vagantes occidit.
7 Libet ipsius senatus consulti formam exponere, quo libros inspici clarissimi ordinis iussit auctoritas:

XIX. Die tertio iduum Ianuariarum Fulvius Sabinus praetor urbanus dixit: "Referimus ad vos, patres conscripti, pontificum suggestionem et Aureliani principis litteras, quibus iubetur ut inspiciantur fatales libri, quibus spes belli terminandi sacrato deorum imperio
2 continetur. scitis enim ipsi, quotiescumque gravior aliquis exstitit motus, eos semper inspectos, neque prius mala publica esse finita quam ex iis sacrificiorum pro-
3 cessit auctoritas." tunc surrexit primae sententiae Ulpius Silanus atque ita locutus est: "Sero nimis, patres conscripti, de rei publicae salute consulimur, sero ad fatalia iussa respicimus more languentium, qui ad summos medicos nisi in summa desperatione non mittunt, proinde quasi peritioribus viris maior facienda

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[1] *i.e.*, an invasion by Alamanni; see note to *Gall.*, iv. 6.

[2] They advanced south-eastward along the Via Aemilia as far as the mouth of the Metaurus, where Aurelian defeated them in a great battle at Fano, forcing them to retreat. Thereupon he followed them and again defeated them near the river Ticinus; see *Epit.*, xxxv. 2. After this victory the title Germanicus Maximus was conferred on him by the senate, and coins were issued with the legend *Victoria Germanica;* see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 305, no 355.

[3] On such "senatus consulta," see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

under Gallienus [1] might occur once more. Therefore they even consulted the Sibylline Books, famed for their benefits to the State, and in these it was found that sacrifices should be made in certain places, which the barbarians then would not be able to pass. And so all those measures which were ordered were carried out with divers kinds of ceremonies, and thus the barbarians were checked, all of whom, as they wandered about in small divisions, Aurelian later destroyed.[2]

It is my desire to give in full the text of the senate's decree [3] itself, in which the authority of that most illustrious body ordained that the Books should be consulted:

XIX. On the third day before the Ides of January Fulvius Sabinus,[4] the city-praetor, spoke as follows: "We bring before you, Conscript Fathers, the recommendation of the pontiffs and a message from Aurelian our prince, bidding us consult the Books of Fate, in which, by the sacred command of the gods, are contained our hopes of ending the war. For you yourselves are aware that, whenever any serious commotion arose, they were always consulted, and that never have the public ills been brought to an end until there issued from them the command to make sacrifice." Then Ulpius Silanus, whose right it was to give his opinion first, arose and spoke as follows: "It is over late, Conscript Fathers, for us to be consulted now concerning the safety of the commonwealth, and over late for us to look to the commands of Fate, even as do the sick who do not send for the greatest physicians save when in the greatest despair, exactly as though more skilful men must needs give

11 Jan. (271)

[4] Neither he nor Ulpius Silanus (§ 3) is otherwise known.

4 sit cura, cum omnibus morbis occurri sit melius. me-
ministis enim, patres conscripti, me in hoc ordine
saepe dixisse, iam tum cum primum nuntiatum est
Marcomannos erupisse, consulenda Sibyllae decreta,
utendum Apollinis beneficiis, inserviendum deorum
inmortalium praeceptis,[1] recusasse vero quosdam, et
cum ingenti calumnia recusasse, cum adulando dice-
rent tantam principis Aureliani esse virtutem ut opus
non sit deos consuli, proinde quasi et ipse vir magnus
5 non deos colat, non de dis inmortalibus speret. quid
plura? audivimus litteras, quibus rogavit opem deorum,
quae numquam cuiquam turpis est.[2] ut vir fortissi-
6 mus adiuvetur. agite igitur, pontifices, qua puri, qua
mundi, qua sancti, qua vestitu animisque sacris com-
modi, templum ascendite, subsellia laureata con-
struite,[3] velatis[4] manibus libros evolvite, fata rei
publicae, quae sunt aeterna, perquirite. patrimis matri-
misque pueris carmen indicite. nos sumptum sacris,
nos apparatum sacrificiis, nos arvis Ambarvalia indice-
XX. mus."[5] post haec interrogati plerique senatores sen-
2 tentias dixerunt, quas longum est innectere. deinde

[1] *inseruiendum . . . praeceptis* ins. from Σ by Hohl; om. in P and by Peter. [2] *deorum . . . est* ins. from Σ by Hohl; *dei*, the rest om. in P and by Peter. [3] *construite* Σ; *constuite* P; *constituite* editors. [4] *uelatis* Salm.; *uetanis* P[1]; *ueteranis* P corr. [5] *patrimis . . . indicemus* ins. from Σ by von Winterfeld and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] The expression (also used in *Heliog.*, viii. 1) means properly "with both parents living"; this was a pre-requisite for service at the sacrifices, sacred meals, and other temple-ceremonies. A similar chorus sang the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace.

a more certain cure, whereas it were better far to meet every disease at the outset. For you remember, Conscript Fathers, that I often said in this body, when the invasion of the Marcomanni was first announced, that we should consult the commands of the Sibyl, make use of the benefits of Apollo, and submit ourselves to the bidding of the immortal gods; but some objected, and objected, too, with cruel guile, saying in flattery that such was the valour of the Emperor Aurelian that there was no need to consult the deities, just as though that great man does not himself revere the gods and found his hopes on the dwellers in Heaven. Why say more? We have heard his message asking for the help of the gods, which never causes shame to any. Now let this most courageous man receive our assistance. Therefore come, ye pontiffs, and do ye, pure and cleansed and holy, attired as is meet and with spirits sanctified, ascend to the temple, deck the benches with laurel, and with veiled hands unroll the volumes, and inquire into the fate of the commonwealth, that fate which is unchanging. And finally, do ye also enjoin a sacred song upon those boys who may lawfully aid in the ceremonies.[1] We, for our part, will decree the money to be expended for the sacred rites and all that is needful for the sacrifices, and we will proclaim for the fields the festival of the Ambarvalia."[2] XX. After this speech many of the senators were asked for their opinions and gave them, but these it would be too long to include. Then, while some raised their

[2] An ancient ceremony of purification held in May, in which a bull, a ram, and a pig were conducted about the Roman territory and then sacrificed to Mars. It was entrusted by Augustus to the revived priestly college of the Fratres Arvales.

aliis manus porrigentibus, aliis pedibus in sententias euntibus, plerisque verbo consentientibus conditum
3 est senatus consultum. itum deinde ad templum, inspecti Libri, proditi versus, lustrata urbs, cantata carmina, Amburbium celebratum, Ambarvalia promissa, atque ita sollemnitas, quae iubebatur, expleta est.
4 Epistula Aureliani de Libris Sibyllinis—nam ipsam
5 quoque indidi ad fidem rerum: "Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse Libris, proinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo
6 deorum omnium tractaretis. agite igitur et castimonia pontificum caerimoniisque sollemnibus iuvate princi-
7 pem necessitate publica laborantem. inspiciantur Libri; si [1] quae facienda fuerint celebrentur; quemlibet sumptum, cuiuslibet gentis captos, quaelibet animalia regia non abnuo sed libens offero, neque enim indecorum est dis iuvantibus vincere. sic apud
8 maiores nostros multa finita sunt bella, sic coepta. si quid est sumptuum, datis ad praefectum aerarii litteris decerni iussi. est praeterea vestrae auctoritatis arca publica, quam magis refertam reperio esse quam cupio."

XXI. Cum autem Aurelianis vellet omnibus simul facta exercitus sui constipatione concurrere, tanta apud Placentiam clades accepta est ut Romanum

[1] *libri; si* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *libris* P.

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[1] A festival held, apparently, on 2 Feb. for the purification of the city, in which the sacrificial victims (as in the Ambarvalia) were led around its confines.

[2] See note to c. xviii. 3.

hands and others went on foot to give their votes and others again expressed their assent in words, the senate's decree was enacted. Then they went to the temple, consulted the Books, brought forth the verses, purified the city, chanted the hymns, celebrated the Amburbium,[1] and proclaimed the Ambarvalia, and thus the sacred ceremony which was commanded was carried out.

Aurelian's letter concerning the Sibylline Books—for I have included it also as evidence for my statements: "I marvel, revered Fathers, that you have hesitated for so long a time to open the Sibylline Books, just as though you were consulting in a gathering of Christians and not in the temple of all the gods. Come, therefore, and by means of the purity of the pontiffs and the sacred ceremonies bring aid to your prince who is harassed by the plight of the commonwealth. Let the Books be consulted; let all that should be done be performed; whatever expenses are needful, whatever captives of any race, whatever princely animals, I will not refuse, but will offer them gladly, for it is not an unseemly thing to win victories by the aid of the gods. It was with this that our ancestors brought many wars to an end and with this that they began them. Whatever costs there may be I have ordered to be paid by the prefect of the treasury, to whom I have sent a letter. You have, moreover, under your own control the money-chest of the State, which I find more full than were my desire."

XXI. Aurelian, however, since he wished, by massing his forces together, to meet all the enemy at once, suffered such a defeat near Placentia[2] that the empire of Rome was almost destroyed. This

2 paene solveretur imperium. et causa quidem huius periculi perfidia et calliditas barbarici fuit motus. 3 nam cum congredi aperto Marte non possent, in silvas se densissimas contulerunt atque ita nostros vespera 4 incumbente turbarunt. denique nisi divina ope post inspectionem Librorum sacrificiorumque curas monstris quibusdam speciebusque divinis impliciti essent barbari, Romana victoria non fuisset.

5 Finito proelio Marcomannico Aurelianus, ut erat natura ferocior, plenus irarum Romam petiit vindictae cupidus, quam seditionum asperitas suggerebat. incivilius denique usus imperio, vir alias optimus, seditionum auctoribus interemptis cruentius ea quae 6 mollius fuerant curanda compescuit. interfecti sunt enim nonnulli etiam nobiles senatores, cum his leve quiddam et quod contemni a mitiore principe potuis- 7 set vel unus vel levis vel vilis testis obiceret. quid multa? magnum illud et quod iam fuerat et quod non frustra speratum est infamiae tristioris ictu con- 8 taminavit imperium. timeri coepit princeps optimus, non amari, cum alii dicerent perodiendum[1] talem principem, non optandum, alii bonum quidem me- 9 dicum, sed mala ratione curantem. his actis cum

[1] *perodiendum* Salm., Hirschfeld, Hohl; *perfodiendum* P, Peter.

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[1] The occasion of this revolt was the successful advance of the Germans (see c. xviii. 4), but inasmuch as senators seem to have been involved in it (so also c. xxxix. 8 and Zosimus, i. 49, 2), it may be that the opponents of this emperor created by the army took advantage of the opportunity to attempt his overthrow. It has been suggested that the revolt of the mint-workers (c. xxxviii. 2-3) was a part of this movement.

[2] According to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 8, 8, he con-

peril, in fact, was caused by the cunning and perfidy of the barbarians' mode of attack. For, being unable to meet him in open battle, they fell back into the thickest forests, and thus as evening came on they routed our forces. And, indeed, if the power of the gods, after the Books had been consulted and the sacrifices performed, had not confounded the barbarians by means of certain prodigies and heaven-sent visions, there would have been no victory for Rome.

When the war with the Marcomanni was ended, Aurelian, over-violent by nature, and now filled with rage, advanced to Rome eager for the revenge which the bitterness of the revolts had prompted.[1] Though at other times a most excellent man, he did, in fact, employ his power too much like a tyrant, for in slaying the leaders of the revolts he used too bloody a method of checking what should have been cured by milder means. For he even killed some senators of noble birth,[2] though the charges against them were trivial and could have been held in disdain by a more lenient prince, and they were attested either by a single witness or by one who was himself trivial or held in but little esteem. Why say more? By the blow of a graver ill-repute he then marred that rule which had previously been great and of which high hopes were cherished, and not without reason. Then men ceased to love and began to fear an excellent prince, some asserting that such an emperor should be hated and not desired, others that he was a good physician indeed, but the methods he used for healing were bad. Then, since all that happened made it

fiscated much property; this was perhaps to provide money for the war against Palmyra.

videret posse fieri ut aliquid tale iterum, quale sub Gallieno evenerat, proveniret, adhibito consilio senatus muros urbis Romae dilatavit. nec tamen
10 pomerio addidit eo tempore sed postea. pomerio autem neminem principum licet addere nisi eum qui agri barbarici aliqua parte Romanam rem publicam
11 locupletaverit. addidit autem Augustus, addidit Traianus, addidit Nero, sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiae Romano nomini sunt[1] tributae.

XXII. Transactis igitur quae ad saeptiones atque urbis statum et civilia pertinebant contra Palmyrenos, id est contra Zenobiam, quae filiorum nomine orientale
2 tenebat imperium, iter flexit. multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit. nam in Thraciis et

[1] *nomini sunt* Salm., Peter; *nominis* P, Σ.

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[1] See c. xxxix. 2 and note.

[2] The ancient ceremonial boundary-line of the city, enclosing the area within which auspices could be taken. Originally surrounding the Palatine Hill only, it was extended to include the Septimontium and then the four Regions. Sulla extended it on the principle stated here (see Aulus Gellius, xiii. 14, 3-4), as did, apparently, Julius Caesar and Augustus and, certainly, Claudius, some of whose boundary-stones are extant, and Vespasian also. No extensions made by Nero or Trajan are known.

[3] The kingdom of Polemo I. and his descendants, annexed to the Empire in 63 and incorporated, first, in the province of Galatia and later in Cappadocia. It consisted of a district along the southern coast of the Black Sea, extending eastward from the mouth of the river Iris (Yeshil Irmak) to Cotyora (Ordu) and as far south as Sebasteia (Sivas).

[4] Named from Cottius, who ruled the district under Augustus. It lay on both sides of the present Franco-Italian boundary, including Sugusio (Susa) on the north-east and Ebrodunum

seem possible that some such thing might occur again, as had happened under Gallienus, after asking advice from the senate, he extended the walls of the city of Rome.[1] The pomerium,[2] however, he did not extend at that time, but later. For no emperor may extend the pomerium save one who has added to the empire of Rome some portion of foreign territory. It was, indeed, extended by Augustus, by Trajan, and by Nero, under whom the districts of Pontus Polemoniacus[3] and the Cottian Alps[4] were brought under the sway of Rome.

XXII. And so, having arranged for all that had to do with the fortifications and the general state of the city and with civil affairs as a whole, he directed his march against the Palmyrenes, or rather against Zenobia, who, in the name of her sons, was wielding the imperial power in the East.[5] On this march he ended many great wars of various kinds. For in

(Embrun) on the south-west. It was made a province by Nero and put under a *procurator et praeses*.

[5] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 1. After the death of Odaenathus she had, while acting as regent for her son (c. xxxviii. 1), developed an imperialistic policy, sending an army to Egypt, which succeeded in holding most of that country (see *Claud.*, xi. 1 and note), and extending her sway northward over Syria, including Antioch, and Asia Minor as far as Ancyra (Angora). Without actually rebelling against Roman rule, she had created what seems to have been virtually an independent kingdom. Encouraged, however, by Aurelian's ill-success against the Alamanni, she determined on a definite break with Rome, and in the spring or early summer of 271 coins were issued in Antioch and Alexandria, bearing the portrait of her son Vaballathus, with the titles of *Imperator* and *Augustus*. She seems to have now formed the plan of setting up in the East a rival power after the pattern of the independent empire in Gaul, and a war with Aurelian was inevitable.

in Illyrico occurrentes barbaros vicit, Gothorum quin etiam ducem Cannaban sive Cannabaudem cum quinque milibus hominum trans Danuvium interemit. 3 atque inde per Byzantium in Bithyniam transitum 4 fecit eamque nullo certamine obtinuit. multa eius magna et praeclara tam facta quam dicta sunt, sed omnia libro innectere nec possumus fastidii evitatione nec volumus, sed ad intellegendos mores atque 5 virtutem pauca libanda sunt. nam cum Tyanam venisset eamque obclusam repperisset, iratus dixisse fer- 6 tur: "Canem in hoc oppido non relinquam." tunc et militibus acrius incumbentibus spe praedae, et Heraclammone quodam timore, ne inter ceteros occi-
XXIII. deretur, patriam suam prodente civitas capta est. sed Aurelianus duo statim praecipua, quod unum severitatem ostenderet, alterum lenitatem, ex imperatoria 2 mente monstravit. nam et Heraclammonem proditorem patriae suae sapiens victor occidit et, cum milites iuxta illud dictum, quo canem se relicturum apud Tyanos negarat, eversionem urbis exposcerent, respondit his: "Canem," inquit, "negavi in hac urbe 3 me relicturum; canes omnes occidite." grande prin-

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[1] *i.e.*, the Goths, who invaded the country south of the Danube in the summer of 271. On the spoils and captives taken by Aurelian see c. xxxiii. 3-4 and xxxiv. 1. He commemorated the victory by assuming the name Gothicus Maximus and by coins with the legend *Victoria Gothica*; see Matt.-Syd. v. p. 303, no. 339. It was probably at this time that the districts north of the Danube were evacuated; see note to c. xxxix. 7.

[2] Meanwhile the Palmyrenes were driven out of Egypt by Probus, according to *Prob.*, ix. 5. This happened after 11 Mar., 271 (of which date there is a papyrus dated in the joint reign of Aurelian and Vaballathus) and before 29 Aug., 271, after which there are no Alexandrian coins of Vaballathus.

Thrace and Illyricum he defeated the barbarians[1] who came against him, and on the other side of the Danube he even slew the leader of the Goths, Cannabas, or Cannabaudes as he is also called, and with him five thousand men. From there he crossed over by way of Byzantium into Bithynia, and took possession of it without a struggle.[2] Many were the great and famous things that he said and did, but we cannot include them all in our book without causing a surfeit, nor, indeed, do we wish to do so, but for the better understanding of his character and valour a few of them must be selected. For instance, when he came to Tyana[3] and found its gates closed against him, he became enraged and exclaimed, it is said: "In this town I will not leave even a dog alive." Then, indeed, the soldiers, in the hope of plunder, pressed on with greater vigour, but a certain Heraclammon, fearing that he would be killed along with the rest, betrayed his native-place, and so the city was captured. XXIII. Aurelian, however, with the true spirit of an emperor, at once performed two notable deeds, one of which showed his severity, the other his leniency. For, like a wise victor, he put to death Heraclammon, the betrayer of his native-place, and when the soldiers clamoured for the destruction of the city in accordance with the words in which he had declared that he would not leave a dog alive in Tyana, he answered them, saying: "I did, indeed, declare that I would not leave a dog alive in this city; well, then, kill all the dogs." Notable, indeed, were the prince's words, but more

[3] Mod. Kizli-Hissar in S.W. Cappadocia, whence led the route over the Taurus into Cilicia.

cipis dictum, grandius militum factum[1]; nam iocatum principis, quo praeda negabatur, civitas servabatur, totus exercitus ita quasi ditaretur accepit.

4 Epistula de Heraclammone: "Aurelianus Augustus Mallio Chiloni. occidi passus sum cuius quasi beneficio Tyanam recepi. ego vero proditorem amare non potui, et libenter tuli quod eum milites occiderunt; neque enim mihi fidem servare potuisset, qui patriae 5 non pepercit. solum denique ex omnibus, qui oppugnabantur, campus accepit. divitem hominem negare non possum, sed cuius bona eius liberis reddidi, ne quis me causa pecuniae locupletem hominem occidi passum esse criminaretur."

XXIV. Capta autem civitas est miro modo. nam cum Heraclammon locum ostendisset aggeris naturali specie tumentem, qua posset Aurelianus cultus ascendere, ille conscendit atque elata purpurea chlamyde intus civibus foris militibus se ostendit, et ita civitas capta est, quasi totus in muris Aureliani fuisset exercitus.

2 Taceri non debet res quae ad famam venerabilis 3 viri pertinet. fertur enim Aurelianum de Tyanae civitatis eversione vere dixisse, vere cogitasse; verum Apollonium Tyanaeum, celeberrimae famae auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum verum[2] deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma qua videtur

[1] *factum* Gruter, Peter; *uocatum* P. [2] *uerum* editors; *uir* P[1]; *uirum* P corr.

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[1] Aurelian apparently wished to appear as the deliverer of Asia Minor and Syria from the Palmyrenes, for he followed a similar policy at Antioch; see c. xxv. 1.

[2] Otherwise unknown. [3] See note to *Alex.*, xxix. 2.

notable still was the deed of the soldiers; for the entire army, just as though it were gaining riches thereby, took up the prince's jest, by which both booty was denied them and the city preserved intact.[1]

The letter concerning Heraclammon: "From Aurelian Augustus to Mallius Chilo.[2] I have suffered the man to be put to death by whose kindness, as it were, I recovered Tyana. But never have I been able to love a traitor and I was pleased that the soldiers killed him; for he who spared not his native city would not have been able to keep faith with me. He, indeed, is the only one of all who opposed me that the earth now holds. The fellow was rich, I cannot deny it, but the property I have restored to the children of him to whom it belonged, that no one may charge me with having permitted a man who was rich to be slain for the sake of his money."

XXIV. The city, moreover, was captured in a wonderful way. For after Heraclammon had shown Aurelian a place where the ground sloped upward by nature in the form of a siege-mound, up which he could climb in full attire, the emperor ascended there, and holding aloft his purple cloak he showed himself to the towns-folk within and the soldiers without, and so the city was captured, just as though Aurelian's entire army had been within the walls.

We must not omit one event which enhances the fame of a venerated man. For, it is said, Aurelian did indeed truly speak and truly think of destroying the city of Tyana; but Apollonius of Tyana,[3] a sage of the greatest renown and authority, a philosopher of former days, the true friend of the gods, and himself even to be regarded as a supernatural being, as Aurelian was withdrawing to his tent, suddenly

subito adstitisse, atque haec Latine, ut homo Pan-
4 nonius intellegeret, verba dixisse: "Aureliane, si vis vincere, nihil est quod de civium meorum nece cogites. Aureliane, si vis imperare, a cruore innocentium abstine. Aureliane, clementer te age, si vis vivere."
5 norat vultum philosophi venerabilis Aurelianus atque
6 in multis eius imaginem viderat templis. denique statim adtonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum eidem promisit atque in meliorem rediit mentem.
7 haec ego et a gravibus viris comperi et[1] in Ulpiae Bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii
8 magis credidi. quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilius, antiquius diviniusque inter homines fuit? ille mortuis reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit. quae qui velit nosse, Graecos legat
9 libros qui de eius vita conscripti sunt. ipse autem, si vita suppetit, atque ipsius viri favori usque placuerit,[2] breviter saltem tanti viri facta in litteras mittam, non quo illius viri gesta munere mei sermonis indigeant, sed ut ea quae miranda sunt omnium voce praedicentur.

XXV. Recepta Tyana Antiochiam proposita omnibus impunitate brevi apud Daphnem certamine

[1] *et* Σ; om. in P. [2] *fauori usque quaque placuerit* P corr.; *favoriuscuerit* P[1]; *favor nos iuverit* Peter.

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[1] The only one extant is the biography written by Flavius Philostratos early in the Third Century (trans. by F. C. Conybeare in the *L.C.L.*).

[2] The best account of the war against Zenobia is in Zosimus, i. 50-56. According to this, the battle took place on the Orontes, whereas the engagement at Daphne occurred during the retreat of the Palmyrenes. Zenobia herself was present at the main battle, the victory at which was due to a skilful

appeared to him in the form in which he is usually portrayed, and spoke to him as follows, using Latin in order that he might be understood by a man from Pannonia: "Aurelian, if you wish to conquer, there is no reason why you should plan the death of my fellow-citizens. Aurelian, if you wish to rule, abstain from the blood of the innocent. Aurelian, act with mercy if you wish to live long." Aurelian recognized the countenance of the venerated philosopher, and, in fact, he had seen his portrait in many a temple. And so, at once stricken with terror, he promised him a portrait and statues and a temple, and returned to his better self. This incident I have learned from trustworthy men and read over again in the books in the Ulpian Library, and I have been the more ready to believe it because of the reverence in which Apollonius is held. For who among men has ever been more venerated, more revered, more renowned, or more holy than that very man? He brought back the dead to life, he said and did many things beyond the power of man. If any one should wish to learn these, let him read the Greek books which have been composed concerning his life.[1] I myself, moreover, if the length of my life shall permit and the plan shall continue to meet with his favour, will put into writing the deeds of this great man, even though it be briefly, not because his achievements need the tribute of my discourse, but in order that these wondrous things may be proclaimed by the voice of every man.

XXV. After thus recovering Tyana, Aurelian, by means of a brief engagement near Daphne,[2] gained

manœuvre of the Roman cavalry, the infantry taking no part in the fight.

obtinuit atque inde praeceptis, quantum probatur, venerabilis viri Apollonii parens humanior atque
2 clementior fuit. pugnatum est post haec de summa rerum contra Zenobiam et Zabam eius socium
3 apud Emesam magno certamine. cumque Aureliani equites fatigati iam paene discederent ac terga darent, subito vi numinis, quod postea est proditum, hortante quadam divina forma per pedites etiam equites restituti sunt. fugata est Zenobia cum Zaba, et plenissime
4 parta victoria. recepto igitur orientis statu Emesam victor Aurelianus ingressus est ac statim ad Templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communi officio vota solu-
5 turus. verum illic eam formam numinis repperit
6 quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positis et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum, ut suo dicemus loco.

XXVI. Post haec Palmyram iter flexit, ut ea oppugnata laborum terminus fieret. sed in itinere a latronibus Syris male accepto frequenter exercitu multa perpessus est et in obsidione usque ad ictum sagittae periclitatus est.

2 Epistula ipsius exstat ad Mucaporem missa, in qua

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[1] Septimius Zabdas (Zâba, see *Claud.*, xi. 1), who had commanded in the battle near Antioch, after abandoning the city to Aurelian, fell back to the south along the Orontes to Emesa (Homs), where the great battle of the war was fought. Zenobia's troops, 70,000 strong, greatly outnumbered the Romans, and her cavalry drove the Roman horse from the field, but her infantry was badly defeated by Aurelian. The defeated remnants of the Queen's army took refuge in the city, but the hostility of the towns-folk forced her to retreat across the desert to Palmyra, 90 miles distant, leaving behind a great amount of treasure.

possession of Antioch, having promised forgiveness to all; and thereupon, obeying, as far as is known, the injunctions of that venerated man, Apollonius, he acted with greater kindness and mercy. After this, the whole issue of the war was decided near Emesa in a mighty battle fought against Zenobia and Zaba,[1] her ally. When Aurelian's horsemen, now exhausted, were on the point of breaking their ranks and turning their backs, suddenly by the power of a supernatural agency, as was afterwards made known, a divine form spread encouragement throughout the foot-soldiers and rallied even the horsemen. Zenobia and Zaba were put to flight, and a victory was won in full. And so, having reduced the East to its former state, Aurelian entered Emesa as a conqueror, and at once made his way to the Temple of Elagabalus,[2] to pay his vows as if by a duty common to all. But there he beheld that same divine form which he had seen supporting his cause in the battle. Wherefore he not only established temples there, dedicating gifts of great value, but he also built a temple to the Sun at Rome, which he consecrated with still greater pomp, as we shall relate in the proper place.[3]

XXVI. After this he directed his march toward Palmyra,[4] in order that, by storming it, he might put an end to his labours. But frequently on the march his army met with a hostile reception from the brigands of Syria, and after suffering many mishaps he incurred great danger during the siege, being even wounded by an arrow.

A letter of his is still in existence, addressed to

[2] See note to *Heliog.*, i. 5.
[3] See c. xxxv. 3.
[4] Early in 272.

de huius belli difficultate ultra pudorem imperialem
3 fatetur: "Romani me modo dicunt bellum contra feminam gerere, quasi sola mecum Zenobia et suis viribus pugnet, atque hostium quantum si vir a me oppugnandus esset, illa[1] conscientia et timore longe
4 deteriore. dici non potest quantum hic sagittarum est, qui belli apparatus, quantum telorum, quantum lapidum; nulla pars muri est quae non binis et ternis ballistis occupata sit; ignes etiam tormentis iaciuntur.
5 quid plura? timet quasi femina, pugnat quasi poenam timens. sed credo adiuturos Romanam rem publicam vere[2] deos, qui numquam nostris conatibus defuerunt."
6 Denique fatigatus ac pro malis fessus litteras ad Zenobiam misit deditionem illius petens, vitam promittens, quarum exemplum indidi:
7 "Aurelianus imperator Romani orbis et receptor orientis Zenobiae ceterisque quos societas tenet bellica.
8 sponte facere debuistis id quod meis litteris nunc iubetur. deditionem enim praecipio impunitate vitae proposita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam ubi
9 te ex senatus amplissimi sententia conlocavero. gemmas, aurum, argentum, sericum, equos, camelos in Romanum aerarium conferatis. Palmyrenis ius suum servabitur."

[1] *illa* Editor; *in* P, Peter. [2] *uere* Petschenig; *uir* P; *ueros* Salm., Peter.

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[1] See c. xxxv. 5.

Mucapor,[1] in which, without the wonted reserve of an emperor he confesses the difficulty of this war: "The Romans are saying that I am merely waging a war with a woman, just as if Zenobia alone and with her own forces only were fighting against me, and yet, as a matter of fact, there is as great a force of the enemy as if I had to make war against a man, while she, because of her fear and her sense of guilt, is a much baser foe. It cannot be told what a store of arrows is here, what great preparations for war, what a store of spears and of stones; there is no section of the wall that is not held by two or three engines of war, and their machines can even hurl fire. Why say more? She fears like a woman, and fights as one who fears punishment. I believe, however, that the gods will truly bring aid to the Roman commonwealth, for they have never failed our endeavours."

Finally, exhausted and worn out by reason of ill-success, he despatched a letter to Zenobia, asking her to surrender and promising to spare her life; of this letter I have inserted a copy:

"From Aurelian, Emperor of the Roman world and recoverer of the East, to Zenobia and all others who are bound to her by alliance in war. You should have done of your own free will what I now command in my letter. For I bid you surrender, promising that your lives shall be spared, and with the condition that you, Zenobia, together with your children shall dwell wherever I, acting in accordance with the wish of the most noble senate, shall appoint a place. Your jewels, your gold, your silver, your silks, your horses, your camels, you shall all hand over to the Roman treasury. As for the people of Palmyra, their rights shall be preserved."

XXVII. Hac epistula accepta Zenobia superbius insolentiusque rescripsit quam eius fortuna poscebat, credo ad terrorem; nam eius quoque epistulae exem-
2 plum indidi: "Zenobia regina orientis Aureliano Augusto. Nemo adhuc praeter te hoc quod poscis litteris petiit. virtute faciendum est quidquid in
3 rebus bellicis est gerendum. deditionem meam petis, quasi nescias Cleopatram reginam perire maluisse
4 quam in qualibet vivere dignitate. nobis Persarum auxilia non desunt, quae iam speramus, pro nobis
5 sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt. quid si igitur illa venerit manus quae undique speratur, pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quasi omnifariam victor, imperas."

6 Hanc epistulam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. nam illa superior Aureliani Graeca missa est.

XXVIII. His acceptis litteris Aurelianus non erubuit sed iratus est statimque collecto exercitu ac ducibus suis undique Palmyram obsedit; neque quic-
2 quam vir fortis reliquit quod aut imperfectum videretur aut incuratum. nam et auxilia, quae a Persis missa fuerant, intercepit et alas Saracenas Armeniasque corrupit atque ad se modo ferociter modo subtiliter transtulit. denique multa vi mulierem poten-

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[1] Otherwise unknown.

[2] These were probably not very numerous, for the old enemy of the Romans, Sapor I., was nearing his end; he died in the autumn of 272, after making his son Hormizd I. king in his stead.

XXVII. On receiving this letter Zenobia responded with more pride and insolence than befitted her fortunes, I suppose with a view to inspiring fear; for a copy of her letter, too, I have inserted:

"From Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus. None save yourself has ever demanded by letter what you now demand. Whatever must be accomplished in matters of war must be done by valour alone. You demand my surrender as though you were not aware that Cleopatra preferred to die a Queen rather than remain alive, however high her rank. We shall not lack reinforcements from Persia, which we are even now expecting. On our side are the Saracens, on our side, too, the Armenians. The brigands of Syria have defeated your army, Aurelian. What more need be said? If those forces, then, which we are expecting from every side, shall arrive, you will, of a surety, lay aside that arrogance with which you now command my surrender, as though victorious on every side."

This letter, Nicomachus[1] says, was dictated by Zenobia herself and translated by him into Greek from the Syrian tongue. For that earlier letter of Aurelian's was written in Greek.

XXVIII. On receiving this letter Aurelian felt no shame, but rather was angered, and at once he gathered together from every side his soldiers and leaders and laid siege to Palmyra; and that brave man gave his attention to everything that seemed incomplete or neglected. For he cut off the reinforcements which the Persians had sent,[2] and he tampered with the squadrons of Saracens and Armenians, bringing them over to his own side, some by forcible means and some by cunning. Finally, by

3 tissimam vicit. victa igitur Zenobia cum fugeret camelis, quos dromedas vocitant, atque ad Persas iter tenderet, equitibus missis est capta atque in Aureliani potestatem deducta.

4 Victor itaque Aurelianus totiusque iam orientis possessor, cum in vinculis Zenobiam teneret, cum Persis, Armeniis, Saracenis superbior[1] atque insolen-
5 tior egit ea quae ratio temporis postulabat. tunc illatae illae[2] vestes, quas in Templo Solis videmus, consertae gemmis, tunc Persici dracones et tiarae, tunc[3] genus purpurae, quod postea nec ulla gens detulit nec Romanus orbis vidit.

XXIX. De qua pauca saltem libet dicere. meministis enim fuisse in Templo Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini pallium breve purpureum lanestre, ad quod cum matronae atque ipse Aurelianus iungerent purpuras suas, cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceterae divini
2 comparatione fulgoris. hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: "Sume purpuram, qualis apud nos
3 est." sed hoc falsum fuit.[4] nam postea diligentissime et Aurelianus et Probus et proxime Diocletianus missis diligentissimis confectoribus requisiverunt tale genus

[1] *superbior* Salm., editors; *superior* P. [2] *illatae illae* Purser; *illae* P; *allatae* Peter; *illatae* Eyssenhardt, Hohl. [3] *tunc* Peter; *tum* P. [4] *sed . . . fuit* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] According to Zosimus, the supplies of the Palmyrenes were exhausted and it was decided that Zenobia should go in person to the Persians to seek aid, but she was captured after crossing the Euphrates. Soon afterwards the peace-party in Palmyra gained the upper hand and surrendered the city after exacting from Aurelian the promise that no punishment should be inflicted.

a mighty effort he conquered that most powerful woman.[1] Zenobia, then, conquered, fled away on camels (which they call dromedaries), but while seeking to reach the Persians she was captured by the horsemen sent after her, and thus she was brought into the power of Aurelian.

And so Aurelian, victorious and in possession of the entire East, more proud and insolent now that he held Zenobia in chains, dealt with the Persians, Armenians, and Saracens as the needs of the occasion demanded. Then were brought in those garments, encrusted with jewels, which we now see in the Temple of the Sun, then, too, the Persian dragon-flags[2] and head-dresses, and a species of purple such as no nation ever afterward offered or the Roman world beheld.

XXIX. Concerning this I desire to say at least few words. For you remember that there was in the Temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest on the Capitolium a short woollen cloak of a purple hue, by the side of which all other purple garments, brought by the matrons and by Aurelian himself, seemed to fade to the colour of ashes in comparison with its divine brilliance. This cloak, brought from the farthest Indies, the King of the Persians is said to have presented as a gift to Aurelian, writing as follows: "Accept a purple robe, such as we ourselves use." But this was untrue. For later both Aurelian and Probus and, most recently, Diocletian made most diligent search for this species of purple, sending out

[2] A flag depicting a dragon was used by the Orientals and by the northern barbarians as shown on the Columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius. It was later adopted by the Romans also and carried by a *draconarius* (c. xxxi. 7).

purpurae nec tamen invenire potuerunt. dicitur enim sandyx Indica talem purpuram facere, si curetur.

XXX. Sed ut ad incepta redeamus: ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium Zenobiam ad poenam
2 poscentium. sed Aurelianus indignum aestimans mulierem interimi occisis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani oculis esset
3 ostentui. grave inter eos qui caesi sunt de Longino philosopho fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Graecas litteras dicitur, quem quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistula ipsius diceretur dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta.

4 Pacato igitur oriente in Europam Aurelianus rediit victor atque illic Carporum copias adflixit et, cum illum Carpicum senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse ioco[1] fertur: "Superest, patres conscripti, ut me
5 etiam Carpisculum vocetis." carpisclum enim genus

[1] *ioco* Cornelissen, Hohl; *loco* P; *e loco* Peter.

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[1] Usually the term given to a mixture of red sulphide of arsenic and red ochre, but here, apparently, the name of a plant, as also in Vergil, *Buc.*, iv. 45; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 40.

[2] This was at Emesa, whither Aurelian withdrew after the surrender of Palmyra, summoning there for trial both Zenobia and her counsellors. The latter were accused by the Queen in an effort to save herself, and many of them were then put to death.

[3] See c. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[4] Cassius Longinus, Neo-Platonist philosopher, rhetorician and philologian. After a long career as a teacher in Athens he withdrew to the court of Zenobia. Of his many works

their most diligent agents, but even so it could not be found. But indeed it is said that the Indian sandyx [1] yields this kind of purple if properly prepared.

XXX. But to return to my undertaking: despite all this, there arose a terrible uproar among all the soldiers, who demanded Zenobia for punishment.[2] Aurelian, however, deeming it improper that a woman should be put to death, killed many who had advised her to begin and prepare and wage the war, but the woman he saved for his triumph, wishing to show her to the eyes of the Roman people.[3] It was regarded as a cruel thing that Longinus the philosopher [4] should have been among those who were killed. He, it is said, was employed by Zenobia as her teacher in Greek letters, and Aurelian is said to have slain him because he was told that that over-proud letter of hers had been dictated in accord with his counsel, although, in fact, it was composed in the Syrian tongue.

And so, having subdued the East, Aurelian returned as a victor to Europe,[5] and there he defeated the forces of the Carpi [6]; and when the senate gave him in his absence the surname Carpicus, he sent them this message, it is said, as a jest: "It now only remains for you, Conscript Fathers, to call me Carpisculus also"—for it is well known that *carpisclum* is

there remain only fragments of his Rhetoric, although the essay Περὶ Ὕψους, by an unknown author, was long attributed to him.

[5] He seems to have made some sort of a punitive expedition into Persian territory; see c. xxxv. 4; xli. 9. He received from the senate the title of Persicus Maximus or Parthicus Maximus and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Parthica*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 291, no. 240.

[6] On the Lower Danube; see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 3.

calciamenti esse satis notum est. quod cognomen deforme videbatur, cum et Gothicus et Sarmaticus et Armeniacus et Parthicus et Adiabenicus iam ille diceretur.[1]

XXXI. Rarum est ut Syri fidem servent, immo difficile. nam Palmyreni, qui iam victi atque contusi fuerant, Aureliano rebus Europensibus occupato non
2 mediocriter rebellarunt. Sandarionem enim, quem in praesidio illic Aurelianus posuerat, cum sescentis sagittariis occiderunt, Achilleo cuidam parenti Zenobiae
3 parantes imperium. verum adeo Aurelianus, ut erat paratus, e Rhodope revertit atque urbem, quia ita
4 merebatur, evertit. crudelitas denique Aureliani vel, ut quidam dicunt, severitas eatenus exstitit ut epistula eius feratur confessionem inmanissimi furoris ostentans, cuius hoc exemplum est :
5 " Aurelianus Augustus Cerronio Basso. non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios. iam satis Palmyrenorum caesum atque concisum est. mulieribus non pepercimus, infantes occidimus, senes iugulavimus,
6 rusticos interemimus. cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus ? parcendum est iis qui remanserunt. credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum suppliciis

[1] *diceretur* Σ ; *discerétur* P.

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[1] Of these names, Gothicus, Parthicus and Carpicus, as well as Germanicus, appear in an inscription of Aurelian's last year (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1112); the others do not seem to have been borne by him.

[2] According to the fuller account in Zosimus, i. 60-61, the Palmyrenes under the leadership of Apsaios (perhaps the Septimius Apsaios to whom *C.I.G.*, 4487 is dedicated) tried to persuade Marcellinus, who had been left in charge of the Euphrates frontier, to take part in a revolt. He put them off

a kind of boot. This surname appeared to him as ignoble, since he was already called both Gothicus and Sarmaticus and Armeniacus and Parthicus and Adiabenicus.[1]

XXXI. It is a rare thing, or rather, a difficult thing, for the Syrians to keep faith. For the Palmyrenes, who had once been defeated and crushed, now that Aurelian was busied with matters in Europe, began a rebellion of no small size.[2] For they killed Sandario, whom Aurelian had put in command of the garrison there, and with him six hundred bowmen, thus getting the rule for a certain Achilleus, a kinsman of Zenobia's. But Aurelian, indeed, prepared as he always was, came back from Rhodope and, because it deserved it, destroyed the city. In fact, Aurelian's cruelty, or, as some say, his sternness, is so widely known that they even quote a letter of his, revealing a confession of most savage fury[3]; of this the following is a copy:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Cerronius Bassus.[4] The swords of the soldiers should not proceed further. Already enough Palmyrenes have been killed and slaughtered. We have not spared the women, we have slain the children, we have butchered the old men, we have destroyed the peasants. To whom, at this rate, shall we leave the land or the city? Those who still remain must be spared. For it is our belief that the few have been chastened by the punishment

with ambiguous replies and sent word of the plot to Aurelian. Meanwhile the Palmyrenes invested Antiochus (whom the *vita* calls Achilleus) with the royal insignia. This seems to have been in the early summer of 272.

[3] Yet, according to Zosimus, he spared Antiochus' life.

[4] Otherwise unknown.

7 esse correctos. Templum sane Solis, quod apud Palmyram aquiliferi legionis tertiae cum vexilliferis et draconario et cornicinibus atque liticinibus diripuerunt, ad eam formam volo, quae fuit, reddi. 8 habes trecentas auri libras de[1] Zenobiae capsulis, habes argenti mille octingenta pondo de Palmyre- 9 norum bonis, habes gemmas regias. ex his omnibus fac cohonestari templum; mihi et dis inmortalibus gratissimum feceris. ego ad senatum scribam, petens 10 ut mittat pontificem qui dedicet templum." haec litterae, ut videmus, indicant satiatam esse inmanitatem principis duri.

XXXII. Securior denique iterum in Europam rediit atque illic omnes qui vagabantur hostes nota illa sua 2 virtute contudit. interim res per Thracias Europamque omnem Aureliano ingentes agente Firmus quidam exstitit, qui sibi Aegyptum sine insignibus imperii, 3 quasi ut esset civitas libera, vindicavit. ad quem continuo Aurelianus revertit, nec illic defuit felicitas solita. nam Aegyptum statim recepit atque, ut erat ferox animi, cogitationem ultus, vehementer irascens, quod adhuc Tetricus Gallias obtineret, occidentem petiit atque ipso Tetrico exercitum suum prodente, quod eius scelera ferre non posset, deditas sibi 4 legiones[2] obtinuit. princeps igitur totius orbis Aurelianus pacatis oriente et[3] Gallis atque ubique

[1] *de* ins. by Salm.; om. in P. [2] *regiones* P, Σ. [3] so Peter; *orientem* P.

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[1] Still the chief glory of the ruins of Palmyra.

[2] See note to c. xxviii. 5.

[3] See *Firm.*, iii.-v. According to the more correct version of Zosimus (i. 61, 1), Aurelian marched directly from Palmyra to Alexandria.

[4] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 1-2 and notes.

of the many. Now as to the Temple of the Sun[1] at Palmyra, which has been pillaged by the eagle-bearers of the Third Legion, along with the standard-bearers, the dragon-bearer,[2] and the buglers and trumpeters, I wish it restored to the condition in which it formerly was. You have three hundred pounds of gold from Zenobia's coffers, you have eighteen hundred pounds of silver from the property of the Palmyrenes, and you have the royal jewels. Use all these to embellish the temple; thus both to me and to the immortal gods you will do a most pleasing service. I will write to the senate and request it to send one of the pontiffs to dedicate the temple." This letter, as we can see, shows that the savagery of the hard-hearted prince had been glutted.

XXXII. At length, now more secure, he returned again to Europe, and there, with his well-known valour, he crushed all the enemies who were roving about. Meanwhile, when Aurelian was performing great deeds in the provinces of Thrace as well as in all Europe, there rose up a certain Firmus, who laid claim to Egypt, but without the imperial insignia and as though he purposed to make it into a free state.[3] Without delay Aurelian turned back against him, and there also his wonted good-fortune did not abandon him. For he recovered Egypt at once and took vengeance on the enterprise—violent in temper, as he always was; and then, being greatly angered that Tetricus still held the provinces of Gaul, he departed to the West and there took over the legions which were surrendered to him[4]—for Tetricus betrayed his own troops since he could not endure their evil deeds. And so Aurelian, now ruler over the entire world, having subdued both the East and the Gauls, and

terrarum victor[1] Romam iter flexit, ut de Zenobia et Tetrico, hoc est de oriente et de occidente, triumphum Romanis oculis exhiberet.

XXXIII. Non absque re est cognoscere qui fuerit
2 Aureliani triumphus. fuit enim speciosissimus. currus regii tres fuerunt, in his unus Odaenathi, argento, auro, gemmis operosus atque distinctus, alter, quem rex Persarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipse quoque pari opere fabricatus, tertius, quem sibi Zenobia composuerat, sperans se urbem Romanam cum eo visuram. quod illam non fefellit; nam cum eo urbem ingressa
3 est victa et triumphata. fuit alius currus quattuor cervis iunctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum. quo, ut multi memoriae tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invectus est, ut illic caederet cervos, quos cum eodem curru captos vovisse Iovi Optimo Maximo ferebatur.
4 praecesserunt elephanti viginti, ferae mansuetae Libycae, Palaestinae diversae ducentae, quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum annonis gravaret; tigrides quattuor, camelopardali, alces, cetera talia per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta,

[1] So Helm in Hohl's ed.; *terrori uicto* P, after which P has *eripe me his, invicte, malis*, evidently a repetition from *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 3.

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[1] He had, in fact, re-united the Roman Empire, divided ever since 258, when Postumus established his independent power in Gaul. His successes were commemorated by the official assumption of the title *Restitutor Orbis*, which appears in inscriptions and on coins; the latter bear also the titles *Pacator Orbis*, *Restitutor Saeculi*, *Restitutor Gentis*, *Restitutor Orientis*, *Pacator Orientis*, *Pax Aeterna*, *Pax Augusti*.

[2] In 273.

[3] According to an account preserved in Zosimus, i. 59, Zenobia died on the way to Europe either by disease or by her

victor in all lands, turned his march toward Rome, that he might present to the gaze of the Romans a triumph over both Zenobia and Tetricus, that is, over both the East and the West.[1]

XXXIII. It is not without advantage to know what manner of triumph Aurelian had,[2] for it was a most brilliant spectacle. There were three royal chariots, of which the first, carefully wrought and adorned with silver and gold and jewels, had belonged to Odaenathus, the second, also wrought with similar care, had been given to Aurelian by the king of the Persians, and the third Zenobia had made for herself, hoping in it to visit the city of Rome. And this hope was not unfulfilled; for she did, indeed, enter the city in it, but vanquished and led in triumph.[3] There was also another chariot, drawn by four stags and said to have once belonged to the king of the Goths.[4] In this—so many have handed down to memory—Aurelian rode up to the Capitol, purposing there to slay the stags, which he had captured along with this chariot and then vowed, it was said, to Jupiter Best and Greatest. There advanced, moreover, twenty elephants, and two hundred tamed beasts of divers kinds from Libya and Palestine, which Aurelian at once presented to private citizens, that the privy-purse might not be burdened with the cost of their food; furthermore, there were led along in order four tigers and also giraffes and elks and other such animals, also eight hundred pairs of gladiators besides

own hand. All other writers, however, agree with the version given in the text, and it may be supposed that the account in Zosimus was invented for the purpose of likening her to Cleopatra.

[4] See c. xxii. 2.

praeter captivos gentium barbararum. Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus; Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suebi,
5 Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus captivi. praecesserunt[1] inter hos etiam Palmyreni qui superfuerant
XXXIV. principes civitatis et Aegyptii ob rebellionem. ductae sunt et decem mulieres, quas virili habitu pugnantes inter Gothos ceperat, cum multae essent interemptae, quas de Amazonum genere titulus indicabat—praelati
2 sunt tituli gentium nomina continentes. inter haec fuit Tetricus chlamyde coccea, tunica galbina, bracis Gallicis ornatus, adiuncto sibi filio, quem imperatorem
3 in Gallia nuncupaverat. incedebat etiam Zenobia, ornata gemmis, catenis aureis, quas alii sustentabant. praeferebantur coronae omnium civitatum aureae
4 titulis eminentibus proditae. iam populus ipse Romanus, iam vexilla collegiorum atque castrorum et cataphractarii milites et opes regiae et omnis exercitus et senatus (etsi aliquantulo tristior, quod senatores triumphari videbant) multum pompae ad-
5 diderant. denique vix nona hora in Capitolium
6 pervenit, sero autem ad Palatium. sequentibus diebus

[1] *poterae cesserunt* P.

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[1] From the kingdom of Axomis (mod. Axum) in the district of Tigré in northern Abyssinia; see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Prov.* (Eng. Trans.), ii. p. 305 f. The king seems to have extended his sway over the Blemmyes (see also *Prob.*, xvii. 2; xix. 1; *Firm.*, iii. 3), a robber nomad-people in lower Nubia, and also over the Arabs of the Yemen (the Homeritai, see Mommsen, *ibid.*, p. 321). It would appear that Aurelian had entered into friendly relations with this ruler during his expedition to Egypt.

[2] From Trans-Caucasia.

[3] See note to *Pius*, v. 5.

the captives from the barbarian tribes. There were Blemmyes, Axomitae,[1] Arabs from Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Hiberians,[2] Saracens and Persians, all bearing their gifts; there were Goths, Alans,[3] Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebians,[4] Vandals and Germans—all captive, with their hands bound fast. There also advanced among them certain men of Palmyra, who had survived its fall, the foremost of the State, and Egyptians, too, because of their rebellion. XXXIV. There were led along also ten women, who, fighting in male attire, had been captured among the Goths after many others had fallen; these a placard declared to be of the race of the Amazons—for placards were borne before all, displaying the names of their nations. In the procession was Tetricus also, arrayed in scarlet cloak, a yellow tunic, and Gallic trousers,[5] and with him his son, whom he had proclaimed in Gaul as emperor.[6] And there came Zenobia, too, decked with jewels and in golden chains, the weight of which was borne by others. There were carried aloft golden crowns presented by all the cities, made known by placards carried aloft. Then came the Roman people itself, the flags of the guilds and the camps, the mailed cuirassiers,[7] the wealth of the kings, the entire army, and, lastly, the senate (albeit somewhat sadly, since they saw senators, too, being led in triumph)—all adding much to the splendour of the procession. Scarce did they reach the Capitol by the ninth hour of the day, and when they arrived at the Palace it

[4] *i.e.*, Juthungi and Alamanni; see notes to c. xviii. 2-3.
[5] See note to *Alex.*, xl. 11.
[6] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 1.
[7] See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 5.

datae sunt populo voluptates ludorum scaenicorum, ludorum circensium, venationum, gladiatorum, naumachiae.

XXXV. Non praetereundum videtur quod et populus memoria tenet et fides historica frequentavit, Aurelianum eo tempore quo proficiscebatur ad orientem bilibres coronas populo promisisse, si victor rediret, et, cum aureas populus speraret neque Aurelianus aut posset aut vellet, coronas eum fecisse de panibus, qui nunc siliginei vocantur, et singulis quibusque donasse, ita ut siligineum suum cottidie toto aevo suo unusquisque[1] et acciperet et posteris suis
2 dimitteret. nam idem Aurelianus et porcinam carnem populo Romano distribuit, quae hodieque dividitur.
3 Leges plurimas sanxit, et quidem salutares. sacer-

[1] So Peter; *et unusquisque* P, Hohl.

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[1] His daily distribution of bread (mentioned also in c. xlviii. 1 and Zosimus, i. 61, 3) took the place of the monthly distribution. It was commemorated by issues of coins with the legends *Annona Aug.* and *Liberalitas Aug.*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 268, no. 21, and p. 290, no. 229. The cost was covered by additional appropriations from the revenues from Egypt, and the boatmen on the Nile and the Tiber were organised into compulsory guilds in order that the service might be improved; see c. xlv. 1 and xlvii. 1-3. This distribution, like that of pork, which was now added to the previous allowances of salt and oil (c. xlviii. 1), seems to have been due to the necessity of reliev-

was late indeed. On the following days amusements were given to the populace, plays in the theatres, races in the Circus, wild-beast hunts, gladiatorial fights and also a naval battle.

XXXV. I think that I should not omit what both the people remember and the truth of history has made current, namely, that Aurelian, at the time of his setting out for the East, promised, if he came back victorious, to give to the populace crowns weighing two pounds apiece; the populace, however, expected crowns of gold, and these Aurelian either could not or would not give, and so he had crowns made of the bread now called wheaten and gave one to each separate man, providing that each and every one might receive his wheaten bread every day of his life and hand on his right to his heirs.[1] The same Aurelian, too, gave the allowance of pork to the Roman people which is given them also to-day.

He enacted very many laws, and salutary ones indeed.[2] He set the priesthoods in order, he con-

ing the needs of Rome, impoverished by the economic decline of Italy and threatened with starvation; see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Emp.*, p. 611 f. and p. 618.

[2] The *vita* omits any mention of the reform of the coinage, which is recorded in Zosimus, i. 61, 3, and attested by the coins themselves. As the result of lack of uniformity in coining and the absence of any fixed standard, the "Antoninianus" had become worthless. This coin was now replaced by a new piece, which not only was better made and contained more silver, but also bore a fixed relation (20 : 1) to a coin of definite value, perhaps the aureus or the denarius of real silver or even the reduced denarius; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 9 f. Also a smaller coin (the denarius) and bronze coins (the sestertius and dupondius) were issued again after a lapse of many years.

dotia composuit, Templum Solis fundavit et pontifices[1] roboravit; decrevit etiam emolumenta sartis tectis et ministris.

4 His gestis ad Gallias profectus Vindelicos obsidione barbarica liberavit, deinde ad Illyricum rediit paratoque magno potius quam ingenti exercitu Persis, quos eo quoque tempore quo Zenobiam superavit 5 gloriosissime iam vicerat, bellum indixit. sed cum iter faceret, apud Caenophrurium, mansionem quae est inter Heracleam et Byzantium, malitia notarii sui et manu Mucaporis interemptus est.

XXXVI. Et causa occidendi eius quae fuerit et quemadmodum sit occisus, ne res tanta lateat, brevi 2 edisseram. Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, se- 3 verus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit princeps. hic, cum usque eo severitatem tetendisset, ut et filiam sororis occideret non in magna neque in satis idonea

[1] *pontifices* P, Σ, def. by Purser; *porticibus* Scaliger, foll. by Peter and Hohl.

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[1] This temple, *in campo Agrippae* according to the *Notitiae*, has been identified with a temple that stood on the western edge of the Quirinal Hill, just above the gardens of the Palazzo Colonna, where some magnificent remains are preserved; but it is perhaps more probable that it was the temple that stood farther north, on the eastern side of the Corso, where the Via Frattina now enters it. It contained, according to Zosimus, i. 61, statues of Helios and Belos. The latter was the patron-god of Palmyra, and he seems to have been the particular deity in whose honour Aurelian erected the temple, but transformed into a Roman god with the usual national priests and festival and evidently intended to be the centre of worship for the whole Empire, since on coins of Aurelian he is called *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani;* see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 307, and Matt.-Syd., v. p. 301, nos. 319-22.

structed the Temple of the Sun,[1] and he founded its college of pontiffs[2]; and he also allotted funds for making repairs and paying attendants.

After doing these things, he set out for the regions of Gaul and delivered the Vindelici from a barbarian inroad[3]; then he returned to Illyricum and having made ready an army, which was large, though not of inordinate size, he declared war on the Persians, whom he had already defeated with the greatest glory at the time that he conquered Zenobia.[4] While on his way thither, however, he was murdered at Caenophrurium,[5] a station between Heraclea and Byzantium, through the hatred of his clerk but by the hand of Mucapor.[6]

XXXVI. Both the reason for his murder and the manner in which he was slain I will set forth briefly, that a matter of such moment may not remain concealed. Aurelian—it cannot be denied—was a stern, a savage, and a blood-thirsty prince. And so, when he pushed his sternness to the length of slaying his sister's daughter[7] without any good or sufficient reason, he incurred, first of all, the hate of his own

[2] The *Pontifices Solis*, modelled on the ancient college of the Pontifices and equal to it in rank; see Wissowa, p. 307.

[3] Early in 275. These invaders are also mentioned in c. xli. 8, but it is not known who they were. The statement in *Tac.*, iii. 4 (cf. *Prob.*, xiii. 5), that the barbarians, after Aurelian's death, broke through the *Limes Transrhenanus* suggests that he entered Germany and restored this boundary.

[4] See note to c. xxx. 4.

[5] Near the modern station of Sinekli, about 50 m. W. of Constantinople.

[6] Addressed in the fictitious letter in c. xxvi. 2-5. In Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 36, 2, he is called *dux* and is said to have been tortured to death by Tacitus.

[7] See c. xxxix. 9.

4 causa, iam primum in odium suorum venit. incidit autem, ut se res fataliter agunt, ut Mnestheum quendam, quem pro notario secretorum habuerat, libertum, ut quidam dicunt, suum, infensiorem sibi minando redderet, quod nescio quid de eo[1] suspicatus esset. 5 Mnestheus, qui sciret Aurelianum neque frustra minari solere neque, si minaretur, ignoscere, brevem nominum conscripsit mixtis iis quibus Aurelianus vere irascebatur cum iis de quibus nihil asperum cogitabat, addito etiam suo nomine, quo magis fidem faceret ingestae sollicitudinis, ac brevem legit singulis quorum nomina continebat, addens disposuisse Aurelianum eos omnes occidere, illos vero debere suae vitae, si 6 viri sint, subvenire. hi[2] cum exarsissent, timore qui merebantur offensam, dolore innocentes, quod[3] beneficiis atque officiis Aurelianus videbatur ingratus, in supra dicto loco iter facientem principem subito adorti interemerunt.

XXXVII. Hic finis Aureliano fuit, principi necessario magis quam bono. quo interfecto cum esset res prodita, et sepulchrum ingens et templum illi detu- 2 lerunt ii a quibus interemptus est. sane Mnestheus postea subreptus ad stipitem bestiis obiectus est, quod statuae marmoreae positae in eodem loco utrimque

[1] *eo* Peter, Hohl; *quo* P, Σ, def. by Purser. [2] *hi* Σ, Hohl; *hic* P, Peter. [3] *quod* ins. by Salm. and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] In Zosimus, i. 62, 1, and Zonaras, xii. 27, he is called Eros. The name Mnestheus, found only here, has been supposed to be an error for μηνυτής, which occurs in the expression τῶν ἔξωθεν φερομένων ἀποκρίσεων μηνυτής, by which both Zosimus and Zonaras (and consequently their source) describe his office.

kinsmen. It came to pass, moreover, as things do happen by decree of fate, that he roused the anger of a certain Mnestheus [1]—his freedman, some say—whom he had employed as his confidential clerk, because he had threatened him, suspecting him on some ground or other. Now Mnestheus, knowing that Aurelian neither threatened in vain nor pardoned when he had threatened, drew up a list of names, in which he mixed together both those at whom Aurelian was truly angry and those toward whom he bore no ill-will, including his own name also, in order thereby to lend greater credence to the fear that he sought to inspire. This list he read to the various persons whose names were contained therein, adding that Aurelian had made arrangements to have them all put to death, and that, if they really were men, they should save their lives. Thereupon all were aroused, those who had deserved his anger being moved by fear, and those who were innocent by sorrow, since Aurelian seemed ungrateful for their services and their fidelity, and so they suddenly attacked the Emperor while on the march in the aforesaid place, and put him to death.

XXXVII. Such was the end of Aurelian, a prince who was necessary rather than good. After he was slain and the facts became known, those very men who had killed him gave him a mighty tomb and a temple. Mnestheus, however, was afterward haled away to a stake and exposed to wild beasts, as is shown by the marble statues set up on either hand in that same place, where also statues were erected

[1] According to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 7-8, the conspiracy was due to Aurelian's sternness in repressing the extortion practised by the officials in the provinces.

significant, ubi et in columnis divo Aureliano statuae
3 constituae sunt. senatus mortem eius graviter tulit, gravius tamen populus Romanus, qui vulgo dicebat
4 Aurelianum paedagogum esse senatorum. imperavit annis sex minus paucis diebus, ac rebus magnis gestis inter divos relatus est.

5 Quia pertinet ad Aurelianum, id quod in historia relatum est tacere non debui. nam multi ferunt Quintillum, fratrem Claudii, cum in praesidio Italico esset, audita morte Claudii sumpsisse imperium.
6 verum postea, ubi Aurelianum comperit imperare, a toto exercitu eum derelictum[1]; cumque contra eum contionaretur nec a militibus audiretur, incisis sibimet venis die vicesimo imperii sui perisse.

7 Quidquid sane scelerum fuit, quidquid malae conscientiae vel artium funestarum, quidquid denique
XXVIII. factionum, Aurelianus toto penitus orbe purgavit. hoc quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror, Vaballathi filii nomine Zenobiam, non Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse quod tenuit.

2 Fuit sub Aureliano etiam monetariorum bellum

[1] *eum derelictum* Peter; *ea delectum* P.

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[1] 5 yrs. 6 mos., according to *Epit.*, 35, 1; 5 yrs. 4 mos. 20 days, according to the "Chronographer of 354." He was killed probably in October or November, 275; see Stein in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.*, vii. p. 46.

on columns in honour of the Deified Aurelian. The senate mourned his death greatly, but the Roman people still more, for they commonly used to say that Aurelian was the senators' task-master. He ruled six years save for a few days,[1] and because of his great exploits he was given a place among the deified princes.[2]

An incident related in history I must not fail to include, inasmuch as it has to do with Aurelian. For it is told by many that Quintillus, Claudius' brother, in command of a garrison in Italy, on hearing of Claudius' death seized the imperial power.[3] But later, when it was known that Aurelian was emperor, he was abandoned by all his army ; and when he had made a speech attacking Aurelian and the soldiers refused to listen, he severed his veins and died on the twentieth day of his rule.

Now whatever crimes there were, whatever guilty plans or harmful practices, and, lastly, whatever plots —all these Aurelian purged away throughout the entire world. XXXVIII. This also, I think, has to do with my theme, namely, that it was in the name of her son Vaballathus and not in that of Timolaus or Herennianus that Zenobia held the imperial power,[4] which she did really hold.

There was also during the rule of Aurelian a revolt among the mint-workers, under the leadership of

[2] The portion of the *vita* that follows (cc. xxxvii. 5—xli. 15) seems to be a sort of appendix, containing many instances of repetition of what has been already told. Much of it shows a close resemblance to the material in Eutropius and Aurelius Victor and seems to have been taken from a common source.

[3] See c. xvii. 5 and *Claud.*, xii. 3-5 and notes.

[4] See c. xxii. 2 and *Tyr. Trig.*, xxx. 1 and notes.

Felicissimo rationali auctore. quod acerrime severissimeque compescuit, septem tamen milibus [1] suorum militum interemptis, ut epistula docet missa ad Ulpium Crinitum ter consulem, qui eum ante adoptaverat:

3 "Aurelianus Augustus Ulpio patri. quasi fatale quiddam mihi sit, ut omnia bella quaecumque gessero, omnes motus ingravescant, ita etiam seditio intramurana bellum mihi gravissimum peperit. monetarii auctore Felicissimo, ultimo servorum, cui procurationem fisci mandaveram, rebelles spiritus extulerunt.
4 hi compressi sunt septem milibus [1] lembariorum et ripariensium et castrianorum et Daciscorum interemptis. unde apparet nullam mihi a dis inmortalibus datam sine difficultate victoriam."

XXXIX. Tetricum triumphatum correctorem
2 Lucaniae fecit, filio eius in senatu manente. Templum Solis magnificentissimum constituit. muros urbis Romae sic ampliavit, ut quinquaginta prope

[1] *militibus* P.

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[1] This revolt is described also in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 6; *Epit.*, 35, 2, and Eutropius, ix. 14. According to these authors, the mint-workers, who, with the connivance of Felicissimus, had adulterated the metal appropriated for the coinage, fearing punishment, broke out into open war. It would appear that they had been keeping a part of the silver that was to have been used for the billon (*i.e.*, adulterated) coins. Though the number of soldiers said to have fallen is, of course, greatly exaggerated, a battle seems to have been fought on the Caelian Hill, near the mint, which was on the Via Labicana. The date is uncertain; it may have been on the occasion of the German invasion of 270-271 (see c. xxi. 5) or in 274, just prior to the reform of the currency (see note to c. xxxv. 3).

[2] See c. x. 2 and note.

Felicissimus, the supervisor of the privy-purse.[1] This revolt he crushed with the utmost vigour and harshness, but still seven thousand of his soldiers were slain, as is shown by a letter addressed to Ulpius Crinitus,[2] thrice consul, by whom he had formerly been adopted:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Ulpius his father. Just as though it were ordained for me by Fate that all the wars that I wage and all commotions only become more difficult, so also a revolt within the city has stirred up for me a most grievous struggle. For under the leadership of Felicissimus, the lowest of all my slaves, to whom I had committed the care of the privy-purse, the mint-workers have shown the spirit of rebellion. They have indeed been crushed, but with the loss of seven thousand men, boatmen,[3] bank-troops, camp-troops[4] and Dacians. Hence it is clear that the immortal gods have granted me no victory without some hardship."

XXXIX. Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph, he created supervisor of Lucania,[5] and his son he retained in the senate. The Temple of the Sun[6] he founded with great magnificence. He so extended the wall of the city of Rome[7] that its circuit was nearly fifty

[3] *i.e.*, from the fleets on the Danube.

[4] Terms applied in the fourth century to troops stationed in permanent garrisons along the bank of the Danube or in the *castra* on the frontier.

[5] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiv. 5 and note.

[6] See c. xxxv. 3 and note.

[7] Begun in 271 after the war against the Marcomanni (see c. xxi. 9) and finished by Probus (Zosimus, i. 49). Most of it, though frequently restored and increased in height, still remains, encircling the ancient city. Its actual length is about twelve miles; but perhaps the "50 milia" means 50,000 *feet*.

3 milia murorum eius ambitus teneant. idem quadruplatores ac delatores ingenti severitate persecutus est. tabulas publicas ad privatorum securitatem[1] exuri in
4 Foro Traiani semel iussit. amnestia etiam sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est de exemplo Atheniensium, cuius rei etiam Tullius in Philippicis
5 meminit. fures provinciales repetundarum ac peculatus reos ultra militarem modum est persecutus, ut
6 eos ingentibus suppliciis cruciatibusque puniret. in Templo Solis multum auri gemmarumque constituit.
7 cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam videret, provinciam Transdanuvinam Daciam a Traiano constitutam sublato exercitu et provincialibus reliquit, desperans eam posse retineri, abductosque ex ea populos in Moesia conlocavit appellavitque eam[2] Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit.

8 Dicitur praeterea huius fuisse crudelitatis, ut plerisque senatoribus simulatam ingereret factionem coniurationis ac tyrannidis, quo[3] facilius eos posset
9 occidere. addunt nonnulli filium sororis, non filiam, ab eodem interfectum, plerique autem etiam filium sororis.

[1] *seueritatem* P. [2] *eam* sugg. by Peter, Purser (cf. Eutrop., ix. 15); *suam* P. [3] *quo* om. in P.

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[1] In imitation of Hadrian; see *Hadr.*, vii. 6 and note.

[2] Cicero, *Philippics*, i. 1; Cicero is speaking of the decree of the senate on 17 March, 44 B.C., granting amnesty to all those implicated in the murder of Caesar.

[3] See note to c. xxxvi .4.

[4] The various Gothic invasions had shown that the districts north of the Danube could no longer be held without constant fighting, and this led to their evacuation, probably in 271. The new province was formed out of portions of the two Moesias, Thrace aud Dardania, with its capital at Serdica (mod.

miles long. He punished with inordinate harshness both informers and false accusers. In order to increase the sense of security of the citizens in general, he gave orders that the records of debts due the State should be burned once and for all in the Forum of Trajan.[1] Under him also an "amnesty" for offences against the State was decreed according to the example of the Athenians, which Cicero also cites in his *Philippics*.[2] Thieving officials in the provinces, accused of extortion or embezzlement, he punished with more than the usual military severity,[3] inflicting on them unwonted penalties and sufferings. He dedicated great quantities of gold and jewels in the Temple of the Sun. On seeing that Illyricum was devastated and Moesia was in a ruinous state, he abandoned the province of Trans-Danubian Dacia, which had been formed by Trajan, and led away both soldiers and provincials, giving up hope that it could be retained.[4] The people whom he moved out from it he established in Moesia, and gave to this district, which now divides the two provinces of Moesia, the name of Dacia.

It is said, furthermore, that so great was his cruelty that he brought against many senators a false accusation of conspiracy and intention to seize the throne, merely in order that it might be easier to put them to death.[5] Some say, besides, that it was the son of his sister, and not her daughter that he killed,[6] many, however, that he slew the son as well.

Sofia). In order to avoid any loss of prestige, Aurelian assumed the title Dacicus Maximus and issued coins with the legend *Dacia Felix*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 277, no. 108.

[5] See note to c. xxi. 5.

[6] The daughter, according to c. xxxvi. 3; the son, according to Eutropius, ix. 14; *Epit.*, 35, 9.

XL. Quam difficile sit imperatorem in locum boni principis legere, et senatus sanctioris gravitas probat
2 et exercitus prudentis auctoritas; occiso namque severissimo principe de imperatore deligendo exercitus rettulit ad senatum, idcirco quod nullum de iis faciendum putabat, qui tam bonum principem occiderant.
3 verum senatus hanc eandem electionem in exercitum refudit, sciens non libenter iam milites accipere im-
4 peratores eos quos senatus elegerit. denique id tertio factum est, ita ut per sex menses imperatorem Romanus orbis non habuerit, omnesque iudices ii permanerent, quos aut senatus aut Aurelianus elegerat, nisi quod pro consule Asiae Faltonius Probus in locum Arellii Fusci delectus est.[1]

XLI. Non iniucundum est ipsas inserere litteras quas a senatum exercitus misit:

"Felices ac fortes exercitus senatui populoque Romano. Aurelianus imperator noster per fraudem unius hominis et per errorem bonorum ac malorum
2 interemptus est. hunc inter deos referte, sancti domini patres conscripti, et de vobis aliquem, sed dignum vestro iudicio, principem mittite. nos enim de iis qui vel errarunt vel[2] male fecerunt, imperare nobis neminem patimur."
3 Rescriptum ex senatus consulto. cum die III nonarum Februariarum senatus amplissimus in Curiam

[1] *delectus est* Salm.; *delegit* P. [2] *qui uel* P.

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[1] On this incident, see *Tac.*, ii.-vi.

[2] Perhaps the *consularis* of this name in *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 3. Faltonius Probus is unknown.

[3] On such "senatus consulta" see note to *Val.*, v. 3.

[4] This date is certainly incorrect, for Aurelian was probably killed in October or November; see note to c. xxxvii. 4. The

XL. How difficult it is to choose an emperor in the place of a good ruler is shown both by the dignified action of a revered senate and by the power exerted by a wise army. For when this sternest of princes was slain, the army referred to the senate the business of choosing an emperor,[1] for the reason that it believed that no one of those should be chosen who had slain such an excellent ruler. The senate, however, thrust this selection back on the army, knowing well that the emperors whom the senate selected were no longer gladly received by the troops. Finally, for the third time, the choice was referred, and so for the space of six months the Roman world was without a ruler, and all those governors whom either the senate or Aurelian had chosen remained at their posts, save only that Faltonius Probus was appointed proconsul of Asia in the place of Arellius Fuscus.[2]

XLI. It is not without interest to insert the letter itself which the army sent to the senate:

"From the brave and victorious troops to the senate and the people of Rome. Aurelian our emperor has been slain through the guile of one man and the blunder of good and evil alike. Do you, now, our revered lords and Conscript Fathers, place Aurelian among the gods and send us as prince one of your own number, whom you deem a worthy man. For none of those who have erred or committed crime will we suffer to be our emperor."

To this a reply was made by decree of the senate.[3] When on the third day before the Nones of February[4]

consul Aurelius Gordianus is perhaps intended to be the same as Velius Cornificius Gordianus in *Tac.*, iii. 2, but both are equally unknown.

Pompilianam convenisset, Aurelius Gordianus consul dixit: "Referimus ad vos, patres conscripti, litteras
4 exercitus felicissimi." quibus recitatis Aurelius Tacitus, primae sententiae senator, ita locutus est (hic autem est qui post Aurelianum sententia omnium imperator
5 est appellatus): "Recte atque ordine consuluissent di immortales, patres conscripti, si boni principes ferro inviolabiles exstitissent, ut longiorem ducerent vitam, neque contra eos aliqua esset potestas iis qui neces
6 infandas tristissima mente concipiunt. viveret enim princeps Aurelianus, quo neque fortior[1] neque utilior
7 fuit quisquam. respirare certe post infelicitatem Valeriani, post Gallieni mala imperante Claudio coeperat nostra res publica, at eadem reddita fuerat
8 Aureliano toto penitus orbe vincente. ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit, ille[2] Vindelicis iugum barbaricae servitutis amovit. illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est, redditae Romanis legibus
9 Thraciae. ille, pro pudor! orientem femineo pressum iugo in nostra iura restituit, ille Persas, insultantes
10 adhuc Valeriani nece, fudit, fugavit, oppressit. illum Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactriani, Seres, Hiberi, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti
11 praesentem paene venerati sunt deum. illius donis,

[1] *neque fortior* ins. by Salm.; om. in P. [2] *inde* P.

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[1] This name is applied to the Curia Julia only here and in *Tac.*, iii. 2. It may be due to an attempt to attribute the foundation of the earliest senate-house to Numa Pompilius instead of Tullus Hostilius, but it is more probable that it is an invention of the author's.

[2] See *Tac.*, vii. 1. [3] See notes to c. xxxiii. 4.

the most high senate had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius,[1] Aurelius Gordianus, the consul, said: "We now lay before you, Conscript Fathers, the letter from our most victorious army." When this letter was read, Tacitus, whose right it was to give his opinion first (it was he, moreover, who was acclaimed as emperor after Aurelian by the voice of all[2]), spoke as follows: "Well and wisely would the immortal gods have planned, Conscript Fathers, had they but rendered good emperors invulnerable to steel, for so would they have longer lives and those have no power against them who with most grievous intent contrive abominable murder. And if it were so, our emperor Aurelian would still be alive, than whom none was ever more brave or more beneficial. For after the misfortune of Valerian and the evil ways of Gallienus our commonwealth did indeed under Claudius' rule begin to breathe once more, but Aurelian it was who won victories throughout the entire world and restored it again to its former state. He it was who gave us back the provinces of Gaul, he who set Italy free, he who removed from the Vindelici the yoke of barbarian enslavement. He by his victories won back Illyricum and brought again the districts of Thrace under the laws of Rome. He restored to our sway the Orient, crushed down (oh, the shame of it!) beneath the yoke of a woman, he defeated and routed and destroyed the Persians, still vaunting themselves in the death of Valerian. He was revered as a god, almost as though present in person, by the Saracens, the Blemmyes, the Axomitae,[3] the Bactrians, the Seres, the Hiberians, the Albanians, the Armenians, and even by the peoples of India. His donations, won from barbarian tribes, fill the

quae a barbaris gentibus meruit, refertum est Capitolium. quindecim milia librarum auri ex eius liberalitate unum tenet templum, omnia in urbe fana eius micant
12 donis. quare, patres conscripti, vel deos ipsos iure convenio, qui talem principem interire passi sunt, nisi
13 forte secum eum esse maluerunt. decerno igitur divinos honores idque vos omnes aestimo esse facturos. nam de imperatore deligendo ad eundem exercitum
14 censeo esse referendum. etenim in tali genere sententiae nisi fiat quod dicitur, et electi periculum erit et
15 eligentis invidia." probata sententia est Taciti. attamen cum iterum atque iterum mitteretur, ex senatus consulto, quod in Taciti vita dicemus, Tacitus factus est imperator.

XLII. Aurelianus filiam solam reliquit, cuius pos-
2 teri etiam nunc Romae sunt. Aurelianus namque pro consule Ciliciae, senator optimus sui vere iuris vitaeque venerabilis, qui nunc in Sicilia vitam agit, eius est nepos.

3 Quid hoc esse dicam, tam paucos bonos exstitisse principes, cum iam tot Caesares fuerint? nam ab Augusto in Diocletianum Maximianumque principes quae series purpuratorum sit, index publicus tenet.
4 sed in his optimi ipse Augustus, Flavius Vespasianus, Flavius Titus, Cocceius Nerva, divus Traianus, divus Hadrianus, Pius et Marcus Antonini, Severus Afer,

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[1] Otherwise unknown; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3. A proconsul of Cilicia is mentioned also in *Car.*, iv. 6, but no such office had existed since the time of the Republic. During the first three centuries of the Empire this province was governed by an imperial *legatus*, after Diocletian by a *proconsularis*. Hence the title seems to be an invention of the author's due to his desire to introduce antiquarian details. Moreover, it is improbable that a great-grandson of Aurelian's

Capitol; by his liberality one temple alone contains fifteen thousand pounds of gold, and with his gifts all the shrines in the city are gleaming. Wherefore, Conscript Fathers, I could justly bring charges against even the very gods, who suffered such a prince to perish, were it not that perchance they preferred to have him among themselves. I therefore propose divine honours, and these I believe you all will bestow. With regard to the choice of an emperor, indeed, you should refer it, I think, to this army. For in a proposal of this kind, unless that which is urged be done, there is both danger for those who are chosen and odium for those who choose." The proposal of Tacitus found favour; but after the matter had been referred back again and again, by decree of the senate Tacitus, as we shall relate in his Life, was chosen as emperor.

XLII. Aurelian left only a daughter, whose descendants are even now in Rome. For Aurelianus,[1] proconsul of Cilicia, a most excellent senator in his own true right and venerated for his manner of life, who now is living in Sicily, is a grandson of hers.

Now what shall I say of this, that whereas so many have borne the name of Caesar, there have appeared among them so few good emperors? For the list of those who have worn the purple from Augustus to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian is contained in the public records. Among them, however, the best were Augustus himself, Flavius Vespasian, Titus Flavius, Cocceius Nerva, the Deified Trajan, the Deified Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, Severus the African, Alexander the son of

was a mature man in 306, when this *vita* purports to have been written.

Alexander Mamaeae, divus Claudius et divus Aurelianus. Valerianum enim, cum optimus fuerit, ab om-
5 nibus infelicitas separavit.[1] vide, quaeso, quam pauci sint principes boni, ut bene dictum sit a quodam mimico scurra Claudii huius temporibus in uno anulo
6 bonos principes posse perscribi atque depingi. at contra quae series malorum! ut enim omittamus Vitellios, Caligulas et Nerones, quis ferat Maximinos et Philippos atque illam inconditae multitudinis faecem? tametsi Decios excerpere debeam, quorum et vita et mors veteribus comparanda est.

XLIII. Et quaeritur quidem quae res malos principes faciat; iam primum, mi amice, licentia, deinde rerum copia, amici praeterea improbi, satellites detestandi, eunuchi avarissimi, aulici vel stulti vel detestabiles et, quod negari non potest, rerum publicarum
2 ignorantia. sed ego a patre meo audivi Diocletianum principem iam privatum dixisse nihil esse difficilius
3 quam bene imperare. colligunt se quattuor vel quinque atque unum consilium ad decipiendum im-
4 peratorem capiunt, dicunt quid probandum sit. imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit. cogitur hoc tantum scire quod illi loquuntur, facit iudices quos fieri non oportet, amovet a re publica quos debeat obtinere. quid multa? ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus, venditur imperator.

[1] *separauit* Gruter; *paruit* P.

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[1] *i.e.*, Gallienus; see note to *Gall.*, i. 1.
[2] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

Mamaea, the Deified Claudius, and the Deified Aurelian. For Valerian, though a most excellent man, was by his misfortune set apart from them all. Observe, I pray you, how few in number are the good emperors, so that it has well been said by a jester on the stage in the time of this very Claudius that the names and the portraits of the good emperors could be engraved on a single ring. But, on the other hand, what a list of the evil! For, to say naught of a Vitellius, a Caligula, or a Nero, who could endure a Maximinus, a Philip, or the lowest dregs [1] of that disorderly crew? I should, however, except the Decii, who in their lives and their deaths should be likened to the ancients.

XLIII. The question, indeed, is often asked what it is that makes emperors evil; first of all, my friend, it is freedom from restraint, next, abundance of wealth, furthermore, unscrupulous friends, pernicious attendants, the greediest eunuchs, courtiers who are fools or knaves, and—it cannot be denied—ignorance of public affairs. And yet I have heard from my father [2] that the emperor Diocletian, while still a commoner, declared that nothing was harder than to rule well. Four or five men gather together and form one plan for deceiving the emperor, and then they tell him to what he must give his approval. Now the emperor, who is shut up in his palace, cannot know the truth. He is forced to know only what these men tell him, he appoints as judges those who should not be appointed, and removes from public office those whom he ought to retain. Why say more? As Diocletian himself was wont to say, the favour of even a good and wise and righteous emperor is often sold. These were Diocletian's own words, and I have inserted

5 haec Diocletiani verba sunt, quae ideirco inserui ut prudentia tua sciret nihil esse difficilius bono principe.

XLIV. Et Aurelianum quidem multi neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponunt, ideirco quod ei clementia, imperatorum dos [1] prima, defuerit.

2 Verconnius Herennianus praefectus praetorii Diocletiani teste Asclepiodoto saepe dicebat Diocletianum frequenter dixisse, cum Maximiani asperitatem reprehenderet, Aurelianum magis ducem esse debuisse quam principem. nam eius nimia ferocitas eidem displicebat.

3 Mirabile fortasse videtur quod compertum Diocletiano Asclepiodotus Celsino consiliario suo dixisse

4 perhibetur, sed de hoc posteri iudicabunt. dicebat enim quodam tempore Aurelianum Gallicanas consuluisse Druiadas, sciscitantem utrum apud eius posteros imperium permaneret, cum illas respondisse dixit nullius clarius in re publica nomen quam Claudii pos-

5 terorum futurum. et est quidem iam Constantius imperator, eiusdem vir sanguinis, cuius puto posteros ad eam gloriam quae a Druiadibus pronuntiata sit pervenire. quod ideirco ego in Aureliani vita constitui quia haec ipsi Aureliano consulenti responsa sunt.

XLV. Vectigal ex Aegypto urbi Romae Aurelianus vitri, chartae, lini, stuppae, atque anabolicas species

[1] *dos* Σ; om. in P.

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[1] See *Prob.*, xxii. 3.

[2] See note to *Prob.*, xxii. 3. Nothing is known of any history written by him. Celsinus is unknown.

[3] Other prophecies by Druid women are given in *Alex.*, lx. 6, and *Car.*, xiv. 3 f.

them here for the very purpose that your wisdom might understand that nothing is harder than to be a good ruler.

XLIV. Now Aurelian, indeed, is placed by many among neither the good nor the evil emperors for the reason that he lacked the quality of mercy, that foremost dower of an emperor. In fact, Verconnius Herennianus,[1] Diocletian's prefect of the guard, used often to say—or so Asclepiodotus[2] bears witness—that Diocletian, in finding fault with Maximian's harshness, frequently said that Aurelian ought to have been a general rather than an emperor. So displeasing to Diocletian was Aurelian's excessive ferocity.

This may perhaps seem a marvellous thing that was learned by Diocletian and is said to have been related by Asclepiodotus to Celsinus his counsellor, but concerning it posterity will be the judge. For he used to relate that on a certain occasion Aurelian consulted the Druid priestesses[3] in Gaul and inquired of them whether the imperial power would remain with his descendants, but they replied, he related, that none would have a name more illustrious in the commonwealth than the descendants of Claudius. And, in fact, Constantius is now our emperor, a man of Claudius' blood,[4] whose descendants, I ween, will attain to that glory which the Druids foretold. And this I have put in the Life of Aurelian for the reason that this response was made to him when he inquired in person.

XLV. Aurelian set aside for the city of Rome the revenues from Egypt, consisting of glass, paper, linen, and hemp, in fact, the products on which a perpetual

[4] See *Claud.*, xiii. 2.

2 aeternas constituit. thermas in Transtiberina regione Aurelianus facere paravit hiemales, quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset. forum nominis sui in Ostiensi ad mare fundare coepit, in quo postea praetorium pub-
3 licum constitutum est. amicos suos honeste ditavit et modice, ut miserias paupertatis effugerent et diviti-
4 arum invidiam patrimonii moderatione vitarent. vestem holosericam neque ipse in vestiario suo habuit
5 neque alteri utendam dedit. et cum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico pallio blatteo serico uteretur, ille respondit, "Absit ut auro fila pensentur." libra enim
XLVI. auri tunc libra serici fuit. habuit in animo ut aurum neque in cameras neque in tunicas neque in pelles neque in argentum mitteretur, dicens plus auri esse in rerum natura quam argenti, sed aurum per varios brattearum, filorum et liquationum usus perire, argentum
2 autem in suo usu manere. idem dederat facultatem, ut aureis qui vellent et vasis uterentur et poculis.
3 dedit praeterea potestatem, ut argentatas privati carruchas haberent, cum antea aerata et eburata vehicula
4 fuissent. idem concessit, ut blatteas matronae tunicas haberent et[1] ceteras vestes, cum antea coloreas ha-
5 buissent et ut multum oxypaederotinas. ut fibulas

[1] *et* om. in P.

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[1] The *anabolicum*, mentioned frequently in papyri, seems to have been a tax in kind on products (especially those enumerated here), in the manufacture of which the State had a monopoly. On the distribution of food in Rome, see c. xxxv. 1-2 and note.

[2] See *Heliog.*, xxvi. 1 and note.

[3] According to the Edict of Diocletian a pound of *blatta serica* (μεταξαβλάττη, raw silk dyed purple) was worth 150,000

tax was paid in kind.[1] He planned to erect a public bath in the Transtiberine district for use in winter, since in this district the water was less cold. He began to construct a forum, named after himself, at Ostia on the sea, in the place where, later, the public magistrates' office was built. He gave wealth to his friends with wisdom and moderation, in order that they might avoid the ills of poverty and yet, because of the moderate size of their fortunes, escape the envy that riches bring. Clothing made wholly of silk[2] he would neither keep in his own wardrobe nor present to anyone else for his use; and when his wife besought him to keep a single robe of purple silk, he replied, "God forbid that a fabric should be worth its weight in gold." For at that time a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold.[3] XLVI. He had in mind to forbid the use of gold on ceilings and tunics and leather and also the gilding of silver, saying that nature had provided more gold than silver, but the gold was wasted by being used variously as gold-leaf, spun gold, and gold that is melted down, while the silver was kept for its proper use. He had, indeed, given permission that those who wished might use golden vessels and goblets. He furthermore granted permission to commoners to have coaches adorned with silver,[4] whereas they had previously had only carriages ornamented with bronze or ivory. He also allowed matrons to have tunics and other garments of purple, whereas they had had before only fabrics of changeable colours, or, as frequently, of an opal-hue. He also was the first to allow private soldiers

denarii (approximately $940); according to his system of coinage, 1 lb. of gold = 50,000 denarii.

[4] See *Alex.*, xliii. 1, and *Heliog.*, xxix. 1 and note.

aureas gregarii milites haberent idem primus conces-
6 sit, cum antea argenteas habuissent. paragaudas vestes ipse primus militibus dedit, cum ante non nisi rectas purpureas[1] accepissent, et quidem aliis monolores, aliis dilores, trilores aliis et usque ad pentelores, quales hodie lineae sunt.

XLVII. Panibus urbis[2] Romae unciam de Aegyptio vectigali auxit, ut quadam epistula data ad praefectum annonae urbis etiam ipse gloriatur:

2 "Aurelianus Augustus Flavio Arabiano praefecto annonae. inter cetera, quibus dis faventibus Romanam rem publicam iuvimus, nihil mihi est magnificentius quam quod additamento unciae omne annonarum urbi-
3 carum genus iuvi. quod ut esset perpetuum, navicularios Niliacos apud Aegyptum novos et Romae amnicos posui, Tiberinas exstruxi ripas, vadum alvei tumentis effodi, dis et Perennitati vota constitui, almam
4 Cererem consecravi. nunc tuum est officium, Arabiane iucundissime, elaborare ne meae dispositiones in irritum veniant. neque enim populo Romano saturo quicquam potest esse laetius."

XLVIII. Statuerat et vinum gratuitum populo Romano dare, ut, quemadmodum oleum et panis et porcina gratuita praebentur, sic etiam vinum daretur,

[1] *rectas purpureas* editors; *rectis purpureis* P, Hohl. [2] *urbis* Σ; *uerbis* P.

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[1] See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.
[2] See c. xlv. 1 and note.
[3] Otherwise unknown.
[4] See c. xxxv. 1-2 and note.

to have clasps of gold, whereas formerly they had had them of silver. He, too, was the first to give tunics having bands of embroidery[1] to his troops, whereas previously they had received only straight-woven tunics of purple, and to some he presented tunics with one band, to others those having two bands or three bands and even up to five bands, like the tunics to-day made of linen.

XLVII. To the loaves of bread for the city of Rome he added one ounce, which he got from the revenues from Egypt,[2] as he himself boasts in a certain letter addressed to the prefect of the city's supply of grain:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Flavius Arabianus,[3] the prefect of the grain supply. Among the various ways in which, with the aid of the gods, we have benefited the Roman commonwealth, there is nothing in which I take greater pride than that by adding an ounce I have increased every kind of grain for the city. And to the end that this may be lasting, I have appointed additional boatmen on the Nile in Egypt and on the river in Rome, I have built up the banks of the Tiber, I have dug out the shallow places in its rising bed, I have taken vows to the gods and the Goddess of Perpetual Harvests, and I have consecrated a statue of fostering Ceres. It is now your task, my dearest Arabianus, to make every effort that my arrangements may not be in vain. For nothing can be more joyous than the Roman people when sufficiently fed."

XLVIII. He had planned also to give free wine to the people of Rome, in order that they might be supplied with it as they were with oil and bread and pork,[4] all free of cost, and he had designed to make

2 quod perpetuum hac dispositione conceperat. Etruriae per Aureliam usque ad Alpes maritimas ingentes agri sunt iique fertiles ac silvosi. statuerat igitur dominis locorum incultorum, qui tamen vellent, pretia[1] dare atque illic familias captivas constituere, vitibus montes conserere atque ex eo opere vinum dare, ut nihil redituum fiscus acciperet, sed totum populo Romano concederet. facta erat ratio dogae, cuparum, navium 3 et operum. sed multi dicunt Aurelianum ne id faceret praeventum, alii a praefecto praetorii suo prohibitum, qui dixisse fertur: "Si et vinum populo Romano damus, superest ut et pullos et anseres demus." 4 argumento est id vere Aurelianum cogitasse, immo etiam facere disposuisse vel ex aliqua parte fecisse, quod in porticibus Templi Solis fiscalia vina ponuntur, 5 non gratuita populo eroganda sed pretio. sciendum tamen congiaria illum ter dedisse, donasse etiam populo Romano tunicas albas manicatas ex diversis provinciis et lineas Afras atque Aegyptias puras, ipsumque primum donasse oraria populo Romano, quibus uteretur populus ad favorem.

XLIX. Displicebat ei, cum esset Romae, habitare in Palatio, ac magis placebat in Hortis Sallustii vel in

[1] *pretia* editors; *gratia* P; *gratis* Σ, Hohl.

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[1] The Via Aurelia ran along the coast of Etruria to Pisa and was continued thence to Genoa by the Via Aemilii Scauri.

[2] This attempt to revive viticulture in Italy was made on a wider scale in the provinces by Probus; see *Prob.*, xviii. 8.

[3] See c. xxxv. 3.

[4] According to the "Chronographer of 354," there was only one distribution, 500 denarii to each person. There was an

this perpetual by means of the following arrangement. In Etruria, all along the Aurelian Way[1] as far as the Maritime Alps, there are vast tracts of land, rich and well wooded. He planned, therefore, to pay their price to the owners of these uncultivated lands, provided they wished to sell, and to settle thereon families of slaves captured in war, and then to plant the hills with vines,[2] and by this means to produce wine, which was to yield no profit to the privy-purse but to be given entirely to the people of Rome. He had also made provision for the vats, the casks, the ships, and the labour. Many, however, say that Aurelian was cut off before he carried this out, others that he was restrained by his prefect of the guard, who is said to have remarked: "If we give wine to the Roman people, it only remains for us to give them also chickens and geese." There is, indeed, proof that Aurelian really considered this measure, or, rather, made arrangements for carrying it out and even did so to some extent; for wine belonging to the privy-purse is stored in the porticos of the Temple of the Sun,[3] which the people could obtain, not free of cost but at a price. It should be known, however, that he thrice distributed largess[4] among them, and that he gave to the Roman people white tunics with long sleeves, brought from the various provinces, and pure linen ones from Africa and Egypt, and that he was the first to give handkerchiefs to the Roman people, to be waved in showing approval.

XLIX. He disliked, when at Rome, to reside in the Palace, and preferred to live in the Gardens of

issue of coins with the legend *Liberalitas Aug.*; see Matt-Syd., v. p. 290, no. 229.

2 Domitiae vivere. milliarensem denique porticum in Hortis Sallustii ornavit, in qua cottidie et equos et se
3 fatigabat, quamvis esset non bonae valetudinis. servos et ministros peccantes coram se caedi iubebat, ut plerique dicunt, causa tenendae severitatis, ut alii,
4 studio crudelitatis. ancillam suam, quae adulterium
5 cum conservo suo fecerat, capite punivit. multos servos ex familia propria qui peccaverant legibus audiendos iudiciis publicis dedit.
6 Senatum sive senaculum matronis reddi voluerat, ita ut primae illic quae sacerdotia senatu auctore meruis-
7 sent. calceos mulleos et cereos et albos et hederacios viris omnibus tulit, mulieribus reliquit. cursores eo
8 habitu quo ipse habebat senatoribus concessit. concubinas ingenuas haberi vetuit. eunuchorum modum pro senatoriis professionibus statuit, idcirco quod ad
9 ingentia pretia pervenissent. vas argenti eius numquam triginta libras transiit. convivium de assaturis maxime fuit. vino russo maxime delectatus est.
L. medicum ad se, cum aegrotaret, numquam vocavit,
2 sed ipse se inedia praecipue curabat. uxori et filiae
3 annuum sigillaricium quasi privatus instituit. servis suis vestes easdem imperator quas et privatus dedit praeter duos senes, quibus quasi libertis plurimum

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[1] On the northern slope of the Quirinal Hill, extending northward as far as Aurelian's wall, and bounded on the east by the Via Salaria Vetus (Via di Porta Salaria). Laid out by Sallust the historian, they became imperial property, probably under Tiberius. Only scanty ruins of the buildings in them are extant.

[2] On the right bank of the Tiber, containing the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel S. Angelo); see *Pius*, v. 1.

Sallust[1] or the Gardens of Domitia.[2] In fact, he built a portico in the Gardens of Sallust one thousand feet long, in which he would exercise daily both himself and his horses, even though he were not in good health. His slaves and attendants who were guilty of crime he would order to be slain in his own presence, for the purpose, some say, of keeping up discipline, or, according to others, through sheer love of cruelty. One of his maid-servants, who had committed adultery with a fellow-slave, he punished with death, and many slaves from his own household, who had committed offences, he delivered over to public courts to be heard according to law.

He had planned to restore to the matrons their senate, or rather *senaculum*,[3] with the provision that those should rank first therein who had attained to priesthoods with the senate's approval. He forbade men to wear boots of purple or wax-colour or white or the colour of ivy, but allowed them to women. He permitted the senators to have runners dressed like his own. He forbade the keeping of free-born women as concubines, and limited the possession of eunuchs to those who had a senator's rating, for the reason that they had reached inordinate prices. His silver vessels never went beyond thirty pounds in weight, and his banquets consisted mainly of roasted meats. He took most pleasure in red wine. L. When ill he never summoned a physician, but always cured himself, chiefly by abstaining from food. He held a yearly celebration of the Sigillaria[4] for his wife and daughter, like any private citizen. To his slaves he gave when emperor the same kind of clothing that he had given them when a commoner, save

[3] See *Heliog.*, iv. 3 and note. [4] See *Hadr.*, xvii. 3.

U 2

detulit, Antistium et Gillonem; qui[1] post eum ex
4 senatus sententia manu missi sunt. erat quidem rarus in voluptatibus, sed miro modo mimis delectabatur, vehementissime autem delectatus est phagone, qui usque eo multum comedit ut uno die ante mensam eius aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem et porcellum comederet, biberet autem infundibulo adposito plus orca.
5 Habuit tempus praeter seditiones quasdam domesticas fortunatissimum. populus eum Romanus amavit, senatus et timuit.

[1] *qui* om. in P.

for two old men, Antistius and Gillo, who received many privileges from him, just as though they were freedmen, and who after his death were set free by vote of the senate. His amusements, indeed, were few, but he took marvellous pleasure in actors and had the greatest delight in a gourmand,[1] who could eat vast amounts to such an extent that in one single day he devoured, in front of Aurelian's own table, an entire wild boar, one hundred loaves of bread, a sheep and a pig and, putting a funnel to his mouth, drank more than a caskful.

Except for certain internal riotings his reign was most prosperous. The Roman people loved him, while the senate held him in fear.

[1] *i.e.*, φαγών, "an eater."

TACITUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Quod post excessum Romuli novello adhuc Romanae urbis imperio factum pontifices, penes quos scribendae historiae potestas fuit, in litteras rettulerunt, ut interregnum, dum post bonum principem bonus alius quaeritur, iniretur, hoc post Aurelianum habito inter senatum exercitumque Romanum non invido non tristi sed grato religiosoque certamine sex
2 totis mensibus factum est. mult's tamen modis haec ab illo negotio causa separata est. iam primum enim,

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[1] According to the official version Romulus disappeared from the earth during an eclipse or a storm; see Cicero, *de Re Publica*, ii. 17, and Livy i. 16. *Excessus* is similarly used to denote his "disappearance" by Cicero in *de Re Publ.*, ii. 23 and 52.

[2] The proclamation of an interregnum was the regular practice of the Roman Republic on those occasions when there were no magistrates with consular or dictatorial power in office, *i.e.* when both consuls died during their year's term or this term expired before their successors were elected. The practice is also said by the historians to have been in vogue during the time of the kings, and a full account of the institution is given in connection with the choice of Numa Pompilius as Romulus' successor; see Livy, i. 17. This serves as the basis for the

TACITUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. A certain measure adopted after the departure of Romulus,[1] during the infancy of Rome's power, and recorded by the pontiffs, the duly authorized writers of history,—namely, the proclamation of a regency for the interval in which one good prince was being sought for to succeed another[2]—was also adopted after the death of Aurelian for the space of six whole months,[3] while the senate and the army of Rome were engaged in a contest, one that was marked not by envy and unhappiness but rather by good feeling and sense of duty. This occasion, however, differed in many ways from that former undertaking. For originally, when the regency

description given here. Despite the suspicions aroused by the biographer's love of antiquarian lore and his tendency to exalt the rule of the senate, we may believe that an interregnum was actually proclaimed at this time, though only in the sense that the government was carried on by the senate; it is mentioned also in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 35, 9-12; 36, 1, and *Epit.*, 35, 9, and seems to be attested by coins bearing the legend *Genius P. R.* and *Int. Urb.* (*Interregnum Urbis?*) *S. C.*; see Matt.-Syd. v. p. 361.

[3] See note to c. ii. 6.

cum interregnum initum est post Romulum, interreges tamen facti sunt, totusque ille annus per quinos et quaternos dies sive ternos centum senatoribus deputatus est, ita ut qui valerent interreges essent
3 singuli dumtaxat. qua re factum est ut et plus anno interregnum iniretur, ne aliquis sub aequabili dignitate
4 Romani expers remaneret imperii. huc accedit quod etiam sub consulibus tribunisque militaribus praeditis imperio consulari, si quando interregnum initum est, interreges fuerunt, nec umquam ita vacua fuit hoc nomine Romana res publica ut nullus interrex biduo
5 saltem triduove crearetur. video mihi posse obici curules magistratus apud maiores nostros quadriennium in re publica non fuisse. sed erant tribuni plebis cum tribunicia potestate, quae pars maxima regalis im-
6 perii est. tamen non est proditum interreges eo tempore non fuisse; quin etiam verioribus historicis referentibus declaratum est consules ab interregibus post creatos, qui haberent reliquorum comitia magistratuum.

II. Ergo, quod rarum et difficile fuit, senatus populusque Romanus perpessus est ut imperatorem per sex

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[1] Five days only, according to Livy.

[2] These consular tribunes formed a board of magistrates, varying from three to six, elected instead of consuls during the early republic, in those years in which there was need for more than two officials vested with supreme power.

[3] There are 28 known years in the history of the republic in which interreges were appointed; the last was 52 B.C.

[4] A period of five years (= 375-371 B.C.) according to Livy, vi. 35, 10, of four years according to Eutropius, ii. 3, or of one year according to Diodorus, xv. 75. It is generally agreed that such a period of anarchy could never have existed. An explanation has been sought in the theory that these years were inserted in blank in the official lists in an attempt to make

was proclaimed after the reign of Romulus, regents were actually created, and that whole year was divided up among the hundred senators for periods of three, or four, or five days apiece,[1] in such a way that there was only one single regent who held the power. From this it resulted that the regency remained in force for even more than a year, in order that there might be no one of those equal in rank who had not held the rule at Rome. To this must be added that also in the time of the consuls and the military tribunes vested with consular power,[2] whenever a regency was proclaimed there were always regents, and never did the Roman commonwealth so entirely lack this office that there was not some regent created, though it might be for only two or three days.[3] I perceive, indeed, that the argument can be brought up against me that for the space of four years[4] during the time of our ancestors there were no curule magistrates in the commonwealth. There were, however, tribunes of the plebs vested with the tribunician power, which is the most important element of the power of a king.[5] Even so, it is nowhere stated that there were no regents in that time; and indeed it has been declared on the authority of more reliable historians that consuls[6] were later created by regents for the purpose of conducting the election of the other magistrates.

II. And so the senate and people of Rome passed through an unusual and a difficult situation, namely,

these agree with the synchronism of events which was adopted by Roman chronographers; see *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, vii. p. 322. Another explanation presupposes that during this time there was in control a revolutionary government, which later was not recognized as legal; see Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.*, p. 31.

[5] *i.e.*, the emperor; see note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

[6] Consular tribunes according to Livy, vi. 36, 3.

menses, dum bonus quaeritur, res publica non haberet.
2 quae illa concordia militum! quanta populo quies! quam gravis senatus auctoritas fuit![1] nullus usquam tyrannus emersit, sub iudicio senatus et militum populique Romani totus orbis est temperatus; non illi principem quemquam, ut recte facerent, non tribuniciam potestatem formidabant sed—quod est in vita optimum—se timebant.
3 Dicenda est tamen causa tam felicium morarum et speciatim in monumentis publicis inserenda et[2] eadem posteris[3] humani generis stupenda moderatio, ut discant qui regna cupiunt non raptum ire imperia sed
4 mereri. interfecto fraude Aureliano, ut superiore libro scriptum est, calliditate servi nequissimi, errore militarium (ut apud quos quaelibet commenta plurimum valent, dum modo irati audiunt, plerumque temulenti, certe consiliorum prope semper expertes[4]), reversis ad bonam mentem omnibus eisdemque ab exercitu graviter confutatis, coeptum est quaeri ecquis
5 fieri deberet ex omnibus princeps. tunc odio praesentium exercitus, qui creare imperatorem raptim solebat, ad senatum litteras misit, de quibus priore libro iam dictum est, petens ut ex ordine suo princi-
6 pem legerent. verum senatus, sciens lectos a se principes militibus non placere, rem ad milites rettulit. dumque id saepius fit, sextus peractus est mensis.

[1] *fuit* Draeger, Peter; *fuerit* P. [2] *et* om. in P. [3] *eadem posteris* Jordan, Ellis, Hohl; *eadem posteros* P; *etiam ad posteros* Peter[2]. [4] *expertes* Jordan; *expertis* P, Peter.

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[1] *Aur.*, xxxvi. [2] *Aur.*, xli. 1-2.

[3] So also c. i. 1; ii. 1; *Aur.*, xl. 4; but in fact the interval was not more than two months, since Aurelian was killed in October or November, 275 (see note to *Aur.*, xxxvii. 4), and

that for six months, while a good man was being sought, the commonwealth had no emperor. What harmony there was then among the soldiers! What peace for the people! How full of weight the authority of the senate! Nowhere did any pretender arise, and the judgement of the senate, the soldiers and the people of Rome guided the entire world; it was not because they feared any emperor or the power of a tribune that they did righteously, but—what is the noblest thing in life—because they feared themselves.

I must, however, describe the cause of a delay so fortunate and an instance of unselfishness which should both receive special mention in the public records and be admired by future generations of the human race, in order that those who covet kingdoms may learn not to seize power but to merit it. After Aurelian had been treacherously slain, as I have described in the previous book,[1] by the trick of a most base slave and the folly of the officers (for with these any falsehood gains credence, provided only they hear it when angry, being often drunken and at best almost always devoid of counsel), when all returned again to sanity and the troops had sternly put down those persons, the question was at once raised whether any one of them all should be chosen as emperor. Then the army, which was wont to create emperors hastily, in their anger at those who were present, sent to the senate the letter of which I have already written in the previous book,[2] asking it to choose an emperor from its own numbers. The senate, however, knowing that the emperors it had chosen were not acceptable to the soldiers, referred the matter back to them. And while this was being done a number of times the space of six months elapsed.[3]

Tacitus was made emperor before the end of the year. The date in c. iii. 2 (cf. also c. xiii. 6) is therefore too early.

III. Interest tamen ut sciatur quemadmodum
2 Tacitus imperator sit creatus. die VII kal. Octob.
cum in Curiam Pompilianam ordo amplissimus con-
sedisset, Velius Cornificius Gordianus consul dixit:
3 " Referemus ad vos, patres conscripti, quod saepe
rettulimus ; imperator est deligendus, cum [1] exercitus
sine principe recte diutius stare non possit, simul
4 quia cogit necessitas. nam limitem Transrhenanum
Germani rupisse dicuntur, occupasse urbes validas,
5 nobiles, divites et potentes. iam si nihil de Persicis
motibus nuntiatur, cogitate tam leves esse mentes
Syrorum ut regnare vel feminas cupiant potius quam
6 nostram perpeti sanctimoniam. quid Africam ? quid
Illyricum ? quid Aegyptum earumque omnium
partium exercitus ? quo usque sine principe credimus
7 posse consistere ? quare agite, patres conscripti, et
principem dicite. aut accipiet enim exercitus quem
elegeritis aut, si refutaverit, alterum faciet."

IV. Post haec cum Tacitus, qui erat primae sen-
tentiae consularis, sententiam incertum quam vellet
2 dicere,[2] omnis senatus adclamavit : " Tacite Auguste,
deus te servet. te deligimus, te principem facimus,
3 tibi curam rei publicae orbisque mandamus. suscipe
imperium ex senatus auctoritate, tui loci, tuae vitae,
tuae mentis est quod mereris. princeps senatus recte
Augustus creatur, primae sententiae vir recte im-

[1] *cum* om. in P. [2] *incertam . . . diceret* P.

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[1] M. Claudius Tacitus Augustus (275-276) ; there is no warrant for the name Aurelius given to him in *Aur.*, xli. 4. According to Zonaras, xii. 28, he was at this time 75 years old.

[2] See *Aur.*, xli. 3 and notes.

[3] See note to *Aur.*, xxxv. 4. [4] See note to *Val.*, v. 4.

III. It is important, however, that it should be known how Tacitus[1] was created emperor. On the seventh day before the Kalends of October, when the most noble body had assembled in the Senate-house of Pompilius,[2] Velius Cornificius Gordianus the consul spoke as follows: "We shall now bring before you, Conscript Fathers, what we have often brought before you previously; you must choose an emperor, because it is not right for the army to remain longer without a prince, and at the same time because necessity compels. For it is said that the Germans have broken through the frontier beyond the Rhine[3] and have seized cities that are strong and famous and rich and powerful. And even if we hear nothing now of any movement among the Persians, reflect that the Syrians are so light-minded that rather than submit to our righteous rule they desire even a woman to reign over them. What of Africa? What of Illyricium? What of Egypt and the armies of all these regions? How long, do we suppose, can they stand firm without a prince? Wherefore up, Conscript Fathers, and name a prince. For the army will either accept the one you name or, if it reject him, will choose another." 25 Sept. (275

IV. Thereupon when Tacitus, the consular whose right it was to speak his opinion first, began to express some sentiment, it is uncertain what, the whole senate acclaimed him[4]: "Tacitus Augustus, may God keep you! We choose you, we name you prince, to your care we commit the commonwealth and the world. Now take the imperial power by authority of the senate, for by reason of your rank, your life and your mind you deserve it. Rightfully is the prince of the senate created Augustus, rightfully is the man whose privilege it is to speak his opinion first created our

4 perator creatur. ecquis melius quam gravis imperat? ecquis melius quam litteratus imperat? quod bonum faustum salutareque sit. diu privatus fuisti. scis quemadmodum debeas imperare, qui alios principes pertulisti. scis quemadmodum debeas imperare, qui de aliis principibus iudicasti."

5 At ille: "Miror, patres conscripti, vos in locum Aureliani, fortissimi imperatoris, senem velle prin-
6 cipem facere. en membra, quae iaculari valeant, quae hastile torquere, quae clipeis intonare, quae ad exemplum docendi militis frequenter equitare. vix munia senatus implemus, vix sententias, ad quas nos
7 locus artat, edicimus. videte diligentius quam aetatem de cubiculo atque umbra in pruinas aestusque mittatis. ac probaturos senem imperatorem
8 milites creditis? videte ne et rei publicae non eum quem velitis principem detis, et mihi hoc solum obesse incipiat quod me unanimiter delegistis."

V. Post haec adclamationes senatus haec fuerunt: "Et Traianus ad imperium senex venit." dixerunt decies. "Et Hadrianus ad imperium senex venit." dixerunt decies. "Et Antoninus ad imperium senex venit." dixerunt decies. "Et tu legisti: 'Incanaque menta regis Romani.'" dixerunt decies. "Ecquis melius quam senex imperat?" dixerunt decies. "Imperatorem te, non militem facimus."

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[1] *Aeneid*, vi. 809-810; cf. *Hadr.*, ii. 8.

emperor. Who can rule more ably than a man of authority? Who can rule more ably than a man of letters? May it prove happy, auspicious, and to the general welfare! Long have you been a commoner. You know how you should rule, for you have been subject to other princes. You know how you should rule, for on other princes you have rendered judgement."

Tacitus, however, replied: "I marvel, Conscript Fathers, that in the place of Aurelian, a most valiant emperor, you should wish to make an aged man your prince. Behold these members, which should be able to cast a dart, to hurl a spear, to clash a shield, and, as an example for instructing the soldiery, to ride without ceasing. Scarce can I fulfil the duties of a senator, scarce can I speak the opinions to which my position constrains me. Observe with greater care my advanced age, which you are now sending out from the shade of the chamber into the cold and the heat. And think you that the soldiers will welcome an old man as their emperor? Look you lest you give the commonwealth a prince whom you do not really desire and lest men begin to raise this as the sole objection against me, namely, that you have chosen me unanimously."

V. Thereupon there were the following acclamations from the senate: "Trajan also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "Hadrian also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "Antoninus also came to power when an old man." This they said ten times. "You yourself have read, 'And the hoary beard of a Roman king.'"[1] This they said ten times. "Can any one rule more ably than an old man?" This they said ten times. "We are choosing you as an emperor,

2 dixerunt vicies. "Tu iube, milites pugnent." dixerunt tricies. "Habes prudentiam et bonum fratrem." dixerunt decies. "Severus dixit caput imperare non pedes." dixerunt tricies. "Animum tuum, non corpus eligimus." dixerunt vicies. "Tacite Auguste, di te servent!"

3 Deinde omnes interrogati.[1] praeterea qui post Tacitum sedebat senator consularis, Maecius Faltonius
VI. Nicomachus, in haec verba disseruit: "Semper quidem, patres conscripti, recte atque prudenter rei publicae magnificus hic ordo consuluit, neque a quoquam orbis terrae populo solidior umquam exspectata sapientia est. attamen nulla umquam neque gravior neque prudentior in hoc sacrario dicta sen-
2 tentia est. seniorem principem fecimus et virum qui omnibus quasi pater consulat. nihil ab hoc inmaturum, nihil praeproperum, nihil asperum formidandum est. omnia seria, cuncta gravia, et quasi
3 ipsa res publica iubeat, auguranda sunt. scit enim qualem sibi principem semper optaverit nec potest[2] aliud nobis exhibere quam ipse desideravit et voluit.
4 enimvero si recolere velitis vetusta illa prodigia, Nerones dico et Heliogabalos et Commodos, seu potius semper Incommodos, certe non hominum magis
5 vitia illa quam aetatum fuerunt. di avertant principes pueros et patres patriae dici impuberes et quibus ad subscribendum magistri litterarii manus

[1] *interrogati* Σ, Peter; *interrogatis* P. [2] *potes* P.

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[1] See *Sev.*, xviii. 10. [2] Otherwise unknown.

not as a soldier." This they said twenty times. "Do you but give commands, and let the soldiers fight." This they said thirty times. "You have both wisdom and an excellent brother." This they said ten times. "Severus said that it is the head that does the ruling and not the feet."[1] This they said thirty times. "It is your mind and not your body that we are choosing." This they said twenty times. "Tacitus Augustus, may the gods keep you!"

Then all were asked their opinions. In addition, Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus,[2] a senator of consular rank, whose place was next to Tacitus', addressed them as follows: VI. "Always indeed, Conscript Fathers, has this noble body taken wise and prudent measures for the commonwealth, and from no nation in the whole world has sounder wisdom ever been awaited. At no time, however, has a more wise or more weighty opinion been voiced in this sacred place. We have chosen as prince a man advanced in years, one who will watch over all like a father. From him we need fear nothing ill-considered, nothing over hasty, nothing cruel. All his actions, we may predict, will be earnest, all dignified, and, in fact, what the commonwealth herself would command. For he knows what manner of prince he has ever hoped for, and he cannot show himself to us as other than what he himself has sought and desired. Indeed, if you should wish to consider those monsters of old, a Nero, I mean, an Elagabalus, a Commodus—or rather, always, an *Incommodious*—you would assuredly find that their vices were due as much to their youth as to the men themselves. May the gods forfend that we should give the title of prince to a child or of Father of his Country to an immature boy, whose hand a schoolmaster must

teneant, quos ad consulatus dandos dulcia et circuli et
6 quaecumque voluptas puerilis invitet. quae (malum)
ratio est habere imperatorem, qui famam curare non
noverit, qui quid sit res publica nesciat, nutritorem
timeat, respiciat ad nutricem, virgarum[1] magistralium
ictibus terrorique subiaceat, faciat eos consules, duces,
iudices quorum vitam, merita, aetates, familias, gesta
7 non norit. sed quo[2] diutius, patres conscripti, pro-
trahor? magis gratulemur quod habemus principem
senem, quam illa iteremus quae plus quam lacrimanda
8 tolerantibus exstiterunt. gratias igitur dis inmortali-
bus ago atque habeo, et quidem pro universa re publica,
teque, Tacite Auguste, convenio, petens, obsecrans ac
libere pro communi patria et[3] legibus deposcens, ne
parvulos tuos, si te citius fata praevenerint, facias
Romani heredes imperii, ne sic rem publicam patresque
conscriptos populumque Romanum ut villulam tuam,
9 ut colonos tuos, ut servos tuos relinquas. quare cir-
cumspice, imitare Nervas, Traianos, Hadrianos. ingens
est gloria morientis principis rem publicam magis
amare quam filios."

VII. Hac oratione et Tacitus ipse vehementer est motus, et totus senatorius ordo concussus, statimque adclamatum est, "Omnes, omnes."

2 Inde itum ad Campum Martium, ubi comitiale tribunal ascendit. ibi[4] praefectus urbis Aelius Cesetti-

[1] *uirgarum* Peter, Hohl; *magnarum* P[1]. [2] *quo* Salm., Peter; *quod* P. [3] *et* ins. by Salm.; om. in P. [4] *ubi* . . . *ibi* Peter; *ibi* . . . *ubi* P, Hohl.

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[1] *i.e.*, adopt a successor.

[2] Otherwise unknown. According to the list of the "Chronographer of 354," Postumius Suagrus was prefect of the city in 275.

guide for the signing of his name and who is induced to confer a consulship by sweetmeats or toys or other such childish delights. What wisdom is there—a plague upon it!—in having as emperor one who has not learned to care for fame, who knows not what the commonwealth is, who stands in dread of a guardian, who looks to a nurse, who is in subjection to the blows or the fear of a schoolmaster's rod, who appoints as consuls or generals or judges men whose lives, whose merits, whose years, whose families, whose achievements he knows not at all? But why, Conscript Fathers, do I proceed farther. Let us rejoice that we have an elder as our prince, rather than recall again those times which appear more than tearful to those who endured them. And so I bring and offer thanks to the gods in heaven in behalf, indeed, of the entire commonwealth, and I appeal to you, Tacitus Augustus, asking and entreating and openly demanding in the name of our common fatherland and our laws that, if Fate should overtake you too speedily, you will not name your young sons as heirs to the Roman Empire, or bequeath to them the commonwealth, the Conscript Fathers, and the Roman people as you would your farm, your tenants, and your slaves. Wherefore look about you and follow the example of a Nerva, a Trajan, and a Hadrian.[1] It is a great glory to a dying prince to love the commonwealth more than his own sons."

VII. By this speech Tacitus himself was greatly moved and the whole senatorial order was deeply affected, and at once they shouted, "So say we all of us, all of us."

Thereupon they proceeded to the Campus Martius, where Tacitus mounted the assembly-platform. There Aelius Cesettianus,[2] the prefect of the city, spoke as

x 2

3 anus sic locutus est: "Vos, sanctissimi milites et sacratissimi vos Quirites, habetis principem, quem de sententia omnium exercituum senatus elegit, Tacitum dico, augustissimum virum, ut qui hactenus sententiis suis rem publicam, nunc adiuvet[1] iussis atque con-
4 sultis." adclamatum est a populo, "Felicissime Tacite Auguste, di te servent," et reliqua quae solent dici.
5 Hoc loco tacendum non est plerosque in litteras rettulisse Tacitum absentem et in Campania positum
6 principem nuncupatum; verum est, nec dissimulare possum. nam cum rumor emersisset illum imperatorem esse faciendum, discessit atque in Baiano duobus
7 mensibus fuit. sed inde deductus huic senatus consulto interfuit, quasi vere privatus et qui vere recusaret
VIII. imperium. ac ne quis me temere Graecorum alicui Latinorumve aestimet credidisse, habet in Bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse
2 manu sua subscripsit. nam diu haec senatus consulta quae ad principes pertinebant in libris elephantinis scribebantur.
3 Inde ad exercitus profectus. ibi quoque, cum primum tribunal ascendit, Moesius Gallicanus praefectus
4 praetorii in haec verba disseruit: "Dedit, sanctissimi commilitones, senatus principem, quem petistis; paruit praeceptis et voluntati[2] castrensium ordo ille nobilissimus. plura mihi apud vos praesente iam imperatore

[1] *adiuuet* Peter, Hohl; *diuet* P. [2] *uoluntati* Σ; *uoluptati* P.

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[1] So also Zonaras, xii. 28.

[2] See *Aur.*, i. 7 and notes; the "ivory book" is doubtless as fictitious as the "libri lintei."

[3] Otherwise unknown.

follows: "You have now, most venerated soldiers, and you, most revered fellow-citizens, an emperor chosen by the senate at the request of all the armies, Tacitus, I mean, the most august of men, who, as he has in the past benefited the commonwealth by his counsels, will now benefit it by his commands and decrees." The people then shouted, "Tacitus Augustus, most blessed, may the gods keep you!" and all else that it is customary to say.

At this point I must not leave it unmentioned that many writers have recorded that Tacitus, when named emperor, was absent and residing in Campania[1]; this is indeed true, and I cannot dissemble. For when the rumour spread that he was to be made emperor, he withdrew and lived for two months at his house at Baiae. But after being escorted back from there he took part in this decree of the senate, as though actually a commoner and one who in truth would refuse the imperial power. VIII. And now, lest any one consider that I have rashly put faith in some Greek or Latin writer, there is in the Ulpian Library,[2] in the sixth case, an ivory book, in which is written out this decree of the senate, signed by Tacitus himself with his own hand. For those decrees which pertained to the emperors were long inscribed in books of ivory.

He proceeded thence to the troops. Here also, as soon as he mounted the platform Moesius Gallicanus,[3] the prefect of the guard, spoke as follows: "The senate has given you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, the emperor you sought; and that most noble order has carried out the instructions and the wishes of the men of the camps. More I may not say, for the emperor is now present with you. Do you, then, as

non licet loqui. ipsum igitur, qui tueri nos debet,
5 loquentem dignanter audite." post hoc Tacitus Augustus dixit: "Et Traianus ad imperium senex venit, sed ille ab uno delectus est, at me, sanctissimi commilitones, primum vos, qui scitis principes adprobare, deinde amplissimus senatus dignum hoc nomine iudicavit. curabo, enitar, efficiam, ne vobis desint, si non fortia facta, at saltem[1] vobis atque imperatore digna consilia."

IX. Post hoc stipendium et donativum ex more promisit et primam orationem ad senatum talem dedit: "Ita mihi liceat, patres conscripti, sic[2] imperium regere ut a vobis me constet electum, ut ego cuncta ex vestra facere sententia et potestate decrevi. vestrum[3] est igitur ea iubere atque sancire quae digna vobis, digna modesto exercitu, digna populo Romano esse videan-
2 tur." in eadem oratione Aureliano statuam auream ponendam in Capitolio decrevit, item statuam argenteam in Curia, item in Templo Solis, item in Foro divi Traiani. sed aurea non est posita, dedicatae autem
3 sunt solae argenteae. in eadem oratione cavit ut si quis argento publice privatimque aes miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis aeri plumbum, capital esset
4 cum bonorum proscriptione. in eadem oratione cavit ut servi in dominorum capita non interrogarentur, ne

[1] *at saltem* Σ; *ad salutem* P. [2] *sic* Σ; *sit* P. [3] *uestrum* Σ; *uerum* P.

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[1] See *Aur.*, xxxv. 3 and note.

[2] See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

[3] This principle had been established by a *vetus senatus consultum*; see Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 30, 3. But by Cicero's time an exception was made in cases of sacrilege and conspiracy; see Cicero, *Orat. Partitiones*, 118.

he speaks, listen to him with all respect, for his duty it is to watch over us." Thereupon Tacitus Augustus spoke: "Trajan also came into power in his old age, but he was chosen by a single man, whereas I have been judged worthy of this title, first by you, most venerated fellow-soldiers, who know how to approve your emperors, and then by the most noble senate. Now I will endeavour and make every effort and do my utmost that you may have no lack, if not of brave deeds, at least of counsels worthy of you and of your emperor."

IX. After this he promised them their pay and the customary donative, and then he delivered his first speech to the senate as follows: "So surely may it be granted me, Conscript Fathers, to rule the empire in such a way that it will be apparent that I was chosen by you, as I have determined to do all things by your will and power. Yours it is, therefore, to command and enact whatsoever seems worthy of yourselves, worthy of a well-ordered army, and worthy of the Roman people." In this same speech he proposed that a golden statue of Aurelian be set up in the Capitolium, likewise a silver one in the Senate-house, in the Temple of the Sun,[1] and in the Forum of the Deified Trajan.[2] The golden one, however, was never set up and only the silver ones were ever dedicated. In the same oration he ordained that if any one, either officially or privately, alloyed silver with copper, or gold with silver, or copper with lead, it should be a capital offence, involving confiscation of property. In the same speech he ordained that slaves should not be questioned against their master when on trial for his life,[3] not even in a prosecution for treason. He added the further command that every man should have a

5 in causa maiestatis quidem. addidit ut Aurelianum omnes pictum haberent. divorum templum fieri iussit, in[1] quo essent statuae principum bonorum, ita ut iisdem natalibus suis et Parilibus et kalendis Ianuariis 6 et Votis libamina ponerentur. in eadem oratione fratri suo Floriano consulatum petiit et non impetravit, idcirco quod iam senatus omnia nundinia suffectorum consulum clauserat. dicitur autem multum laetatus senatus libertate, quod ei negatus est consulatus, quem fratri petierat. fertur denique dixisse, "Scit senatus quem principem fecerit."

X. Patrimonium suum publicavit, quod habuit in reditibus, sestertium bis milies octingenties. pecuniam, quam domi collegerat, in stipendium militum vertit. togis et tunicis iisdem est usus quibus privatus. 2 meritoria intra urbem stare vetuit, quod quidem diu tenere non potuit. thermas omnes ante lucernam claudi iussit, ne quid per noctem seditionis oriretur. 3 Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret, in omnibus

[1] *in* Σ; *ut* P.

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[1] There was already in existence a large structure built by Domitian, consisting of two temples of Vespasian and Titus with a great enclosing portico, called the Porticus Divorum, the whole complex being known as the Templum Divorum. Its site was the mod. Piazza Grazioli and the land to the south.

[2] 21 April, originally a festival in honour of an ancient pastoral deity named Pales, and later celebrated as the birthday of Rome.

[3] The Votorum Nuncupatio on 3 Jan., on which vows for the emperor's health were taken by the officials and priests.

[4] See c. xiii. 6 f.

[5] See notes to *Carac.*, iv. 8, and *Alex.*, xxviii. 1.

painting of Aurelian, and he ordered that a temple to the deified emperors[1] be erected, in which should be placed the statues of the good princes, so that sacrificial cakes might be set before them on their birthdays, the Parilia,[2] the Kalends of January, and the Day of the Vows.[3] In the same speech he asked for the consulship for his brother Florian,[4] but this request he did not obtain for the reason that the senate had already fixed all the terms of office for the substitute consuls.[5] It is said, moreover, that he derived great pleasure from the senate's independence of spirit, because it refused him the consulship which he had asked for his brother. Indeed he is said to have exclaimed, "The senate knows what manner of prince it has chosen."

X. He presented to the state the private fortune which he had in investments, amounting to two hundred and eighty million sesterces, and the money which he had accumulated in his house he used for the pay of the soldiers. He continued to wear the same togas and tunics that he had worn while a commoner. He forbade the keeping of brothels in the city—which measure, indeed, could not be maintained for long. He gave orders that all public baths should be closed before the hour for lighting the lamps,[6] that no disturbance might arise during the night. He had Cornelius Tacitus, the writer of Augustan history,[7] placed in all the libraries, claiming him as a relative[8];

[6] They had been kept open at night by Severus Alexander; see *Alex.*, xxiv. 6.

[7] From this passage Casaubon took the title which has ever since been given erroneously to this collection; see vol. I., Intro., p. xi.

[8] The difference between the names of their respective *gentes* shows this to be impossible.

bibliothecis conlocari iussit; ne[1] lectorum incuria deperiret, librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in †evicosarchis[2] iussit et in bibliothecis
4 poni. holosericam vestem viris omnibus interdixit. domum suam destrui praecepit atque in eo loco ther-
5 mas publicas fieri privato sumptu iussit. columnas centum Numidicas pedum vicenum ternum Ostiensibus donavit de proprio. possessiones, quas in Mauretania habuit, sartis tectis Capitolii deputavit.
6 argentum mensale, quod privatus habuerat,[3] ministeriis conviviorum, quae in templis fierent, dedicavit.
7 servos urbanos omnes manu misit utriusque sexus, intra centum tamen ne Caniniam transire videretur.

XI. Ipse fuit vitae parcissimae, ita ut sextarium vini tota die numquam potaverit, saepe intra heminam.
2 convivium vero unius gallinacei, ita ut sinciput adderet et ova. prae omnibus holeribus adfatim ministratis lactucis impatienter indulsit, somnum enim se mercari illa sumptus effusione dicebat. amariores
3 cibos adpetivit. balneis raro usus est atque adeo validior fuit in senectute. vitreorum diversitate atque operositate vehementer est delectatus. panem nisi siccum numquam comedit eundemque sale atque aliis
4 rebus conditum. fabricarum peritissimus fuit, marmorum cupidus, nitoris senatorii, venationum studiosus.

[1] *ne* Hohl; *nec* P; *neue* Peter[2]. [2] So P; no successful emendations have been proposed. [3] *habuerat* Σ; *habuerit* P.

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[1] See *Heliog.*, xxvi. 1 and note.

[2] See note to *Gord.*, xxxii. 2.

[3] The Lex Fufia Caninia of 2 B.C., designating specified proportions of a household of slaves that might be manumitted, the maximum being one hundred; see Gaius, i. 42-46.

and in order that his works might not be lost through the carelessness of the readers he gave orders that ten copies of them should be made each year officially in the copying-establishments and put in the libraries. He forbade any man to wear a garment made wholly of silk.[1] He gave orders that his house should be destroyed and a public bath erected on the site at his own expense. To the people of Ostia he presented from his own funds one hundred columns of Numidian marble,[2] each twenty-three feet in height, and the estates which he owned in Mauretania he assigned for keeping the Capitolium in repair. The table-silver which he had used when a commoner he dedicated to the service of the banquets to be held in the temples, and all the slaves of both sexes whom he had in the city he set free, keeping the number, however, below one hundred in order not to seem to be transgressing the Caninian Law.[3]

XI. In his manner of living he was very temperate, so much so that in a whole day he never drank a pint of wine, and frequently less than a half-pint. Even at a banquet there would be served a single cock, with the addition of a pig's jowl and some eggs. In preference to all other greens he would indulge himself without stint in lettuce, which was served in large quantities, for he used to say that he purchased sleep by this kind of lavish expenditure. He especially liked the more bitter kinds of food. He took baths rarely and was all the stronger in his old age. He delighted greatly in varied and elaborate kinds of glassware. He never ate bread unless it was dry, but he flavoured it with salt and other condiments. He was very skilled in the handicrafts, fond of marbles, truly senatorial in his elegance and devoted to hunting.

5 mensam denique suam numquam nisi agrestibus opimavit. phasianam avem nisi suo et suorum natali et diebus festissimis non posuit. hostias suas semper
6 domum revocavit iisdemque suos vesci iussit. uxorem gemmis uti non est passus. auro clavatis vestibus idem interdixit. nam et ipse auctor Aureliano fuisse perhibetur ut aurum a vestibus et cameris et pellibus sum-
7 moveret. multa huius feruntur, sed longum est ea in litteras mittere. quod si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire, legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam ad-
8 fatim scripsit. legit sane senex minutulas litteras ad stuporem nec umquam noctem intermisit qua non aliquid vel scriberet ille vel legeret praeter posterum kalendarum diem.

XII. Nec tacendum est et frequenter intimandum[1] tantam senatus laetitiam fuisse, quod eligendi principis cura ad ordinem amplissimum revertisset ut et supplicationes decernerentur, et hecatombe promitteretur, singuli denique senatores ad suos scriberent, nec ad suos tantum sed etiam ad externos, mitterentur praeterea litterae ad provincias: "scirent omnes socii omnesque nationes in antiquum statum redisse rem publicam ac senatum principes legere, immo ipsum senatum principem factum, leges a senatu petendas,

[1] *intimandum* Salm.; *imitandum* P.

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[1] See note to *Pert.*, xii. 6. [2] See *Aur.*, xlvi. 1.

[3] Unknown and probably fictitious.

[4] His reign was regarded throughout as the re-establishment of the rule of the senate; he restored to the senators the right to hold military commands (Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 6) and issued gold coins inscribed *S.C.* (Matt.-Syd., v. p. 333, no. 75; pp. 346-347, nos. 205 and 209). This policy found expression in

His table, indeed, was supplied only with country produce, and he never served pheasants[1] except on his own birthday and on those of his family and on the chief festivals. He always brought back home the sacrificial victims and bade his household eat them. He did not permit his wife to use jewels and also forbade her to wear garments with gold stripes. In fact, it is said that it was he who impelled Aurelian to forbid the use of gold on clothing and ceilings and leather.[2] Many other measures of his are related, but it would be too long to set them all down in writing, and if anyone desires to know everything about this man, he should read Suetonius Optatianus,[3] who wrote his life in full detail. Though he was an old man, he could read very tiny letters to an amazing degree and he never let a night go by without writing or reading something except only the night following the day after the Kalends.

XII. It must not be left unmentioned, and in fact it should become widely known, that so great was the joy of the senate that the power of choosing an emperor had been restored to this most noble body,[4] that it both voted ceremonies of thanksgiving and promised a hecatomb and finally each of the senators wrote to his relatives, and not to his relatives only but also to strangers, and letters were even despatched to the provinces, all in the following vein: "Let all the allies and all foreign nations know that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient condition, and that the senate now creates the ruler, nay rather the senate itself has been created ruler, and henceforth

the titles *Verae Libertatis Auctor* given to him in an inscription from Gaul (*C.I.L.* xii. 5563 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 591) and *Restitutor Rei Publicae* on coins (Cohen, vi.² p. 231, no. 107).

reges barbaros senatui supplicaturos, pacem ac bella
2 senatu auctore tractanda." ne quid denique deesset cognitioni, plerasque huius modi epistulas in fine libri posui, et cum cupiditate et sine fastidio, ut aestimo, perlegendas.

XIII. Et prima quidem illi cura imperatoris facti haec fuit, ut omnes qui Aurelianum occiderant interimeret, bonos malosve, cum iam ille vindicatus esset.
2 et quoniam a Maeotide multi barbari eruperant, hos
3 eosdem consilio atque virtute compressit. ipsi autem Maeotidae ita se gregabant, quasi accitu Aureliani ad bellum Persicum convenissent, auxilium daturi nostris
4 si necessitas postularet. M. Tullius dicit magnificentius esse dicere, quemadmodum gesserit quam quemadmodum [1] ceperit consulatum; at in isto viro magnificum fuit quod tanta gloria cepit imperium; gessit autem
5 propter brevitatem temporum nihil magnum. interemptus est enim insidiis militaribus, ut alii dicunt, sexto mense, ut alii, morbo interiit. tamen constat

[1] *gesserit quam quemadmodum* rest. by Salm. from Cicero; om. in P.

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[1] cc. xviii.-xix.

[2] See *Aur.*, xxxvii. 2. Others were punished by Probus; see *Prob.*, xiii. 2.

[3] The Sea of Azov; see note to *Aur.*, xvi. 4. A fuller account of this invasion of the Eruli in 275-276 is found in Zosimus, i. 63, 1 and Zonaras, xii. 28. Entering Asia Minor from Colchis, they overran Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, where they were defeated by Tacitus with the aid of Florian. He celebrated the victory by assuming the cognomen Gothicus Maximus and by coins (of 276) with the legend *Victoria Gothica*; see *Matt.-Syd.*, v. p. 337, no. 110.

[4] See *Aur.*, xxxv. 4. [5] *In Pisonem* 3.

laws must be sought from the senate, barbarian kings bring their entreaties to the senate, and peace and war be made by authority of the senate." In fact, in order that nothing may be lacking to your knowledge, I have placed many letters of this sort at the end of the book,[1] to be read, as I think, with enjoyment, or at least without aversion.

XIII. His first care after being made emperor was to put to death all those who had killed Aurelian, good and bad alike, although he had already been avenged.[2] Then with wisdom and courage he crushed the barbarians—for they had broken forth in great numbers from the district of Lake Maeotis.[3] The Maeotidae, in fact, were flocking together under the pretext of assembling by command of Aurelian for the Persian War,[4] in order that, should necessity demand it, they might render aid to our troops. Now Cicero declares[5] that it is rather a matter for boasting to tell how one has conducted, rather than how one has obtained, the consulship ; in the case of Tacitus, however, it was a noble achievement that he obtained the imperial power with such glory to himself, but by reason of the shortness of his reign he performed no great exploit. For in the sixth month of his rule, he was slain,[6] according to some, by a plot among the troops, though according to others he died of disease.[7]

[6] At Tyana (Kizli-Hissar) in Cappadocia, according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 36, 2. Zosimus (i. 63, 2) and Zonaras (xii. 28) relate that he was killed by some soldiers who had murdered his kinsman Maximinus, the governor of Syria, and then feared punishment from him. As there are papyri of June 276, drawn up while he was ruling, his death could not have taken place before this month.

[7] This version, evidently incorrect, seems to appear also in *Prob.*, x. 1 and *Car.*, iii. 7, and in *Epit.*, 36, 1.

factionibus eum oppressum mente atque animo de-
6 fecisse. hic idem mensem Septembrem Tacitum appellari iussit, idcirco quod eo mense et natus et factus est imperator.

Huic frater Florianus in imperio successit, de quo pauca ponenda sunt.

XIV. Hic frater Taciti germanus fuit, qui post fratrem arripuit imperium, non senatus auctoritate sed suo motu, quasi hereditarium esset imperium, cum sciret adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori coepisset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem prin-
2 cipem faceret. denique vix duobus mensibus imperium tenuit et occisus est Tarsi a militibus, qui Probum audierant imperare, quem omnis exercitus legerat.
3 tantus autem Probus fuit in re[1] militari ut illum senatus optaret, miles eligeret, ipse populus Romanus ad-
4 clamationibus peteret. fuit etiam Florianus morum fratris imitator, nec tamen usquequaque. nam effu-

[1] *in re* Σ, Peter, Hohl; *intere* P.

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[1] See c. ii. 6 and note.

[2] M. Annius Florianus Augustus. His name shows that the biographer is correct in his statement, in c. xvii. 4, that he was the son of Tacitus' mother by a second husband; accordingly, the "germanus" of c. xiv, 1 is incorrect. In direct contradiction of c. xiv. 1 Zonaras says that he was recognised by the senate, and both he and Zosimus relate that he was acknowledged emperor by the European and African portions of the empire; this is supported by the evidence of inscriptions from the various western provinces.

[3] Cf. c. vi. 8.

[4] He reigned for eighty days according to Eutropius, ix. 16, and for eighty-eight according to the "Chronographer of 354." Since Tacitus seems to have been killed in June, 276 (see note to c. xiii. 5), and Florian is said by Zosimus (i. 64, 2) to have

It is, nevertheless, agreed among all that, crushed by plots, he grew weak both in mind and in spirit. He likewise gave command that the month of September should be called Tacitus, for the reason that in that month he was not only born but also created emperor.[1]

He was succeeded in the imperial power by his brother Florian,[2] about whom a few things must now be related.

XIV. Florian was own brother to Tacitus, and after his brother's death he seized the imperial power, not by authorisation of the senate but on his own volition, just as though the empire were an hereditary possession, and although he knew that Tacitus had taken oath in the senate that when he came to die he would appoint as emperor not his own sons but some excellent man.[3] Finally, after holding the imperial power for scarce two months [4] he was slain at Tarsus by the soldiers,[5] who heard that Probus, the choice of the whole army, was now in command. So great, moreover, was Probus in matters of war that the senate desired him, the soldiers elected him, and the Roman people itself demanded him by acclamations.[6] Florian was also an imitator of his brother's ways, though not

been killed during the summer, his death may be supposed to have taken place about August.

[5] Zosimus (i. 64, 2) relates that he carried on the war against the Eruli with success and that he had cut off their retreat when he was forced by Probus' assumption of the imperial power to return to Cilicia. After a battle of no importance Probus' soldiers deposed Florian and placed him under guard; when he made an attempt to recover his position he was killed by his own troops at the instigation of Probus' emissaries. The biographer, both here and in *Prob.*, x. 8, suppresses all suggestion of complicity in Florian's death on the part of his hero Probus.

[6] See *Prob.*, x.-xii.

sionem in eo frater frugi reprehendit, et haec ipsa imperandi cupiditas aliis eum moribus ostendit fuisse quam fratrem.

5 Duo igitur principes una exstiterunt domo, quorum alter sex mensibus, alter vix duobus imperaverunt, quasi quidam interreges inter Aurelianum et Probum, post interregnum principes nuncupati.[1]

XV. Horum statuae fuerunt Interamnae duae pedum tricenum e marmore, quod illic eorum cenotaphia constituta sunt in solo proprio; sed deiectae fulmine ita contritae sunt ut membratim iaceant dis-
2 sipatae. quo tempore responsum est ab haruspicibus quandocumque ex eorum familia imperatorem Romanum futurum seu per feminam seu per virum, qui det iudices Parthis ac Persis, qui Francos et Alamannos sub Romanis legibus habeat, qui per omnem Africam barbarum non relinquat, qui Taprobanis praesidem imponat, qui ad Iuvernam[2] insulam proconsulem mittat, qui Sarmatis omnibus iudicet, qui terram omnem, qua Oceano ambitur, captis omnibus gentibus suam faciat, postea tamen senatui reddat imperium et antiquis legibus vivat, ipse victurus annis centum
3 viginti et sine herede moriturus. futurum autem eum dixerunt a die fulminis praecipitati statuisque confractis
4 post[3] annos mille. non magna haec urbanitas haruspicum fuit, qui principem talem post mille annos futurum esse dixerunt, pollicentes cum vix remanere

[1] *post . . . nuncupati* P, retained by von Winterfeld; del. by Salm., Peter, Hohl. [2] *Iuvernam* Purser, Hohl; *Romanam* P, Peter. [3] *post* Σ; *per* P.

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[1] Mod. Terni, about 60 m. N. of Rome.
[2] Cf. *Prob.*, xxiv. 2. [3] Ceylon.
[4] Ireland—if the emendation in the text is correct.

in every respect. For the frugal Tacitus found fault with his lavishness, and his very eagerness to rule showed him to be of a different stamp from his brother.

So then there arose two princes from one house, of whom the one ruled for six months and the other for scarce two—merely regents, so to speak, between Aurelian and Probus, and themselves named princes after a regency.

XV. Their two statues, made of marble and thirty feet in height, were set up at Interamna,[1] for there cenotaphs were erected to them on their own land; but these were struck by lightning and so thoroughly broken that they lay scattered in fragments. On this occasion the soothsayers foretold that at some future time there would be a Roman emperor from their family,[2] descended through either the male or the female line, who would give judges to the Parthians and the Persians, subject the Franks and the Alamanni to the laws of Rome, drive out every barbarian from the whole of Africa, establish a governor at Taprobane,[3] send a proconsul to the island of Iuverna,[4] act as judge to all the Sarmatians, make all the land which borders on the Ocean his own territory by conquering all the tribes, but thereafter restore the power to the senate and conduct himself in accordance with the ancient laws, being destined to live for one hundred and twenty years[5] and to die without an heir. They declared, moreover, that he would come one thousand years from the day when the lightning struck and shattered the statues. It showed no great skill, indeed, on the soothsayers' part to declare that such a prince would come after an interval of one thousand years, for their promise applied to

[5] Cf. *Claud.*, ii. 4.

talis possit historia,[1] quia, si post centum annos praedicerent, forte possent eorum deprehendi mendacia. ego tamen haec idcirco inserenda volumini credidi ne quis me legens legisse non crederet.

XVI. Tacitus congiarium populo Romano intra sex menses vix dedit. imago eius posita est in Quintiliorum, in una tabula quinquiplex, in qua semel togatus, semel chlamydatus, semel armatus, semel palliatus, semel venatorio habitu. de qua quidem epigrammatarius ita allusit ut diceret: "Non agnosco senem armatum, non chlamydatum" inter cetera, "sed agnosco togatum." et Floriani liberi et Taciti multi exstiterunt, quorum sunt posteri, credo, millesimum annum exspectantes. in quos multa epigrammata scripta sunt,[2] quibus[3] iocati sunt haruspices imperium pollicentes. haec sunt quae de vita Taciti atque Floriani digna memoratu comperisse me memini.

Nunc nobis adgrediendus est Probus, vir domi forisque conspicuus, vir Aureliano, Traiano, Hadriano, Antoninis, Alexandro Claudioque praeferendus, quia[4] in illis varia, in hoc omnia praecipua iuncta[5] fuere, qui post Tacitum omnium iudicio bonorum imperator est factus orbemque terrarum pacatissimum gubernavit, deletis barbaris gentibus, deletis etiam plurimis tyrannorum, qui eius temporibus exstiterunt, de quo

[1] *pollicentes . . . historia* transp. by Salm.; after *mendacia* in P. [2] *scripta sunt* Σ, Hohl; om. in P and by Peter. [3] *quibus* Hohl; *quo* P, Peter; *queis* Cas. [4] So Peter; *nisi quia* P, Hohl. [5] *iuncta* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *tunc* P.

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[1] Commemorated by coins with the legend *Annona Augusti*; see Matt.-Syd., v. p. 339, nos. 123-125.

[2] Unknown. [3] See note to *Prob.*, i. 3.

a time when such a story will scarce be remembered, whereas, if they had said one hundred years, their falsehood could perhaps be detected. All this, nevertheless, I thought should be included in this volume for the reason that someone who reads me might think that I had not read.

XVI. Tacitus scarcely gave a largess[1] to the Roman people in six months' time. His portrait was placed in the house of the Quintilii,[2] representing him in five ways on a single panel, once in a toga, once in a military cloak, once in armour, once in a Greek mantle, and once in the garb of a hunter. Of this picture, indeed, a writer of epigrams made mock, saying: "I do not recognise the old man in the armour, I do not recognise the man in the military cloak," and so forth, "but I do recognise the man in the toga." Both Florian and Tacitus left many children, whose descendants, I suppose, are awaiting the coming of the thousandth year. About them many epigrams were written, ridiculing the soothsayers who made the promise of the imperial power. This is all that I remember learning about the lives of Tacitus and Florian that is worthy of record.

Now we must take up Probus, a man of note both at home and abroad, and one to be preferred to Aurelian, to Trajan, to Hadrian, to the Antonines, to Alexander, and to Claudius, for the reason that, while they had various virtues, he had all combined and to a surpassing degree.[3] He was made emperor after Tacitus by the vote of all good men, and he ruled a world to which he had brought perfect peace by destroying barbarian tribes and by destroying also the very many pretenders who arose in his time, and about him it was said that he was worthy to be called

dictum est dignum esse[1] ut Probus diceretur, etiamsi Probus nomine non fuisset. quem quidem multi ferunt etiam Sibyllinis Libris promissum, qui si diutius
7 fuisset, orbis terrae barbaros non haberet. haec ego in aliorum vita de Probo credidi praelibanda, ne dies, hora, momentum aliquid sibi vindicaret in me neces-
8 sitate fatali ac Probo indicto deperirem. nunc quoniam interim meo studio satisfeci, claudam istud volumen,[2] satisfactum arbitrans studio et cupiditati meae.

XVII. Omina imperii Tacito haec fuerunt : fanaticus quidam in Templo Silvani tensis membris exclamavit, "Tacita purpura, tacita purpura," idque septimo ; quod quidem postea omini deputatum est.
2 vinum, quo libaturus Tacitus fuerat in templo Herculis
3 Fundani, subito purpureum factum est. vitis, quae uvas Aminnias albas ferebat, eo anno quo ille imperium meruit purpureas tulit.[3] plurima purpurea
4 facta sunt. mortis omina haec fuerunt : patris sepulchrum disruptis ianuis se aperuit. matris umbra se per diem et Tacito et Floriano velut viventis obtulit, nam diversis patribus nati ferebantur. in larario di omnes seu terrae motu seu casu aliquo conciderunt.

[1] *dignum esse* ins. by Cas., Peter[2] ; om. in P. . . . *uolumen* Σ, Hohl ; om. in P and by Peter. *purascere* P ; *purpurascere* . . . Peter, Hohl.
[2] *satisfeci*
[3] So Salm. ;

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[1] *i.e.*, Upright ; cf. *Prob.*, iv. 4 ; x. 4.

[2] There were in Rome many private shrines of Silvanus, which are attested by inscriptions, but there was no official cult of the god or any temple.

[3] A dedicatory inscription to Hercules Fundanius has been found in Rome (*C.I.L.*, vi. 311 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 3449), but the adjective may refer to the town of Fundi (mod. Fondi) on the Via Appia.

Probus[1] even if that had not been his name. Many, indeed, declare that he was even foretold by the Sibylline books, and had he but lived longer the world would contain no barbarians. These statements about him I thought should be given in the life of others as a foretaste, lest the day, the hour, and the moment should put forth some claim against me because my fate is destined, and I should die without mention of Probus. Now, since I have for the time satisfied my zeal, I will bring this book to a close, believing that I have given satisfactory expression to my devotion and my desire.

XVII. The omens that predicted the rule of Tacitus were the following: A certain madman in the Temple of Silvanus[2] was seized with a stiffening of the limbs and shouted out, "There is tacit purple, there is tacit purple," and so on for seven times; and this, indeed, was later regarded as an omen. The wine, moreover, with which Tacitus was about to pour a libation in the Temple of Hercules Fundanius,[3] suddenly turned purple, and a vine, which had previously borne white Aminnian grapes,[4] in the year in which he gained the imperial power bore grapes of a purple colour. Very many other things, too, turned purple. Now the omens predicting his death were these: His father's tomb burst its doors asunder and opened of its own accord. His mother's shade appeared in the daytime as though alive to Tacitus and to Florian as well—it is said, indeed, that they had different fathers.[5] All the gods in their private chapel fell down, overthrown either by an earthquake or by some mischance. The

[4] One of the most famous of the Italian grapes; see Vergil, *Georg.*, ii. 97, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xiv. 21-22.

[5] See note to c. xiii. 6.

5 imago Apollinis, quae ab his colebatur, ex summo fastigio in lectulo posita sine hominis cuiuspiam manu deprehensa est. sed quousque ultra progredimur? sunt a quibus ista dicantur. nos ad Probum et ad Probi gesta insignia reservemus.[1]

XVIII. Et quoniam me promisi aliquas epistulas esse positurum, quae creato Tacito principe gaudia senatus ostenderent, his additis finem scribendi faciam.

Epistulae publicae:

2 "Senatus amplissimus curiae Carthaginiensi salutem dicit. quod bonum, faustum, felix salutareque sit rei publicae orbique Romano, dandi ius imperii, appellandi principis, nuncupandi Augusti ad nos revertit. 3 ad nos igitur referte quae magna sunt. omnis provocatio praefecti[2] urbis erit, quae tamen a procon- 4 sulibus et ab ordinariis iudicibus emerserit. in quo quidem etiam vestram in antiquum statum redisse credimus dignitatem, si quidem primus hic ordo est, qui recipiendo vim suam ius suum ceteris servat."

5 Alia epistula:

"Senatus amplissimus curiae Trevirorum. ut estis liberi et semper fuistis, laetari vos credimus. creandi principis iudicium ad senatum rediit, simul etiam

[1] *reseruemus* Σ, Petschenig, Hohl; *reseruemur* P; *reuertemur* Peter. [2] *praefecti* Σ; *quae* P.

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[1] c. xii. 2.

[2] As the representative of the senate; so also *Prob.*, xiii. 1. The principle had been laid down by Nero that appeals from Italy and the senatorial provinces should be made to the consuls (*i.e.*, the senate), while those from the imperial provinces should be made to the emperor; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 4. This was

statue of Apollo, worshipped by them both, was found removed from the top of its pedestal and laid on a couch, all without the agency of any human hand. But to what end shall I proceed further? There are others to relate these things; let us save ourselves for Probus and for Probus' famous deeds.

XVIII. Now since I have promised [1] to quote some of the letters which showed the joy of the senate when Tacitus was created emperor, I will append the following and then make an end of writing.

The official letters:

"From the most noble senate to the council of Carthage, greeting. May it prove happy, auspicious, of good omen, and to the welfare of the commonwealth and the Roman world! The right of conferring the imperial power, of naming an emperor, and of entitling him Augustus has been restored to us. To us, therefore, you will now refer all matters of importance. Every appeal shall now be made to the prefect of the city,[2] but it shall come up to him from the proconsuls and the regular judges. And herein, we believe, your authority also has been restored to its ancient condition, for this body is now supreme, and in recovering its own power it is preserving the rights of others as well."

Another letter:

"From the most noble senate to the council of the Treviri.[3] We believe that you are rejoicing that you are free and have ever been free. The power to create the emperor has been restored to the senate,

now extended, on the theory that the senate was the supreme governing body, to all the provinces.

[3] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxxi. 3.

praefecturae urbanae appellatio universa decreta est."

6 Eodem modo scriptum est Antiochensibus, Aquileiensibus, Mediolanensibus, Alexandrinis, Thessalonicensibus, Corinthiis et Atheniensibus.

XIX. Privatae autem epistulae haec fuerunt:

"Autronio Iusto patri Autronius Tiberianus salutem. nunc te, pater sancte, interesse decuit senatui amplissimo, nunc sententiam dicere, cum tantum auctoritas amplissimi ordinis creverit ut reversa in antiquum statum re[1] publica nos principes demus, nos faciamus 2 imperatores, nos denique nuncupemus Augustos. fac igitur ut convalescas, Curiae interfuturus antiquae. nos recepimus ius proconsulare, redierunt ad praefectum urbi appellationes omnium potestatum et omnium dignitatum."

3 Item alia:

"Claudius Sapilianus Cereio Maeciano patruo salutem. obtinuimus,[2] pater sancte, quod semper optavimus; in antiquum statum senatus revertit. nos principes facimus, nostri ordinis sunt potestates. 4 gratias exercitui Romano et vere Romano; reddidit 5 nobis quam semper habuimus potestatem. abice Baianos Puteolanosque secessus, da te urbi, da te Curiae. floret Roma, floret tota res publica. imperatores damus, principes facimus; possumus et prohibere qui coepimus facere. dictum sapienti sat est."

[1] So Peter; *reuera . . . rei* P. [2] *optinuimus* Σ; *optimus* P.

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[1] Neither these persons nor those mentioned in the next letter are otherwise known.

and at the same time the prefect of the city has been authorized to hear all appeals."

After the same manner letters were written to the people of Antioch, of Aquileia, of Milan, of Alexandria, of Thessalonica, of Corinth, and of Athens.

XIX. The private letters, moreover, were as follows:

"From Autronius Tiberianus to Autronius Justus [1] his father, greeting. Now at last it is fitting, my revered father, for you to be present in the most noble senate, and now to speak your opinion, for so greatly has the authority of that noble body increased that, now that the commonwealth has been restored to its ancient position, we name the princes, we create the emperors, we, in fine, give the Augusti their title. Now look to it that you grow strong, ready to be present once more in the ancient Senate-house. We have recovered the proconsular command, and to the prefect of the city have been restored the appeals from every office and from every rank."

Likewise another letter:

"From Claudius Sapilianus to Cereius Maecianus his uncle, greeting. We have obtained, revered sir, what we have always desired; the senate has been restored to its ancient position. We now create the emperors and in our body is vested every power. All thanks to the Roman army, aye, Roman in truth! It has restored to us the power which we always held. Now away with retirement to Baiae and Puteoli! Present yourself in the city, present yourself in the Senate-house. Happy is Rome, happy the entire commonwealth. We name the emperors, we create the princes; and we who have begun to create are also able to depose. To the wise a word is sufficient."

6 Longum est omnes epistulas conectere quas peri, quas legi. tantum illud dico, senatores ea esse laetitia elatos ut in domibus suis omnes hostias caederent, imagines frequenter aper albati sederent, convivia sumptuosiora praeb antiquitatem sibi redditam crederent.

[1] *aperirent* Σ; *aperiunt* P. [2] *praeberent* Cas., *praeuenerent* P^1.

It would be too long to include all the letters that I have found and read. I will say only this much, that all the senators were so carried away by joy that they all in their houses sacrificed white victims, uncovered everywhere the portraits of their ancestors, sat arrayed in white garments, served more sumptuous banquets, and supposed that the ancient times had been restored.

PROBUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Certum est quod Sallustius Crispus quodque Marcus Cato et Gellius historici sententiae modo in litteras rettulerunt, omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse quantas videri eas voluerint eorum ingenia qui unius
2 cuiusque[1] facta descripserint. inde est quod Alexander Magnus Macedo, cum ad Achillis sepulchrum venisset, graviter ingemescens "Felicem te," inquit, "iuvenis, qui talem praeconem tuarum virtutum repperisti," Homerum intellegi volens, qui Achillem tantum in virtutum studio fecit[2] quantum ipse valebat ingenio.
3 Quorsum haec pertineant, mi Celsine, fortassis requi-

[1] *cuiusque* Σ; *cuius* P. [2] *fecit* Peter; *fuit* P.

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[1] What follows is not a quotation, but a reflection based on Sallust, *Catil.*, 8, 4 and Cato's *Origines* quoted by Aulus Gellius, iii. 7, 19. The actual words of Sallust are cited by Jerome in his *Vita Hilarionis*, 1, in immediate connection with the anecdote related in § 2, though without the reference to Cato. The coincidence and the exactness of Jerome's quotation from Sallust have suggested the possibility that the biographer has taken

PROBUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. It is true—as Sallustius Crispus and the historians Marcus Cato and Gellius [1] have put into their writings as a sort of maxim—that all the virtues of all men are as great as they have been made to appear by the genius of those who related their deeds. Hence it was that Alexander the Great of Macedonia, as he stood at the tomb of Achilles, said with a mighty groan, "Happy are you, young man, in that you found such a herald of your virtues," [2] making allusion to Homer, who made Achilles outstanding in the pursuit of virtue in proportion as he himself was outstanding in genius.

"But to what does all this apply," you may perhaps

this passage from the *Vita Hilarionis* (written about 390), and that, accordingly, the *Probus* was not composed before the end of the fourth century; see B. Schmiedler in *Phil. Woch.*, 1927, p. 955 f.

[2] Related also by Plutarch, *Alexander*, 15, 4; Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, i. 12, 1; Cicero, *pro Archia*, 24, and referred to by Cicero in *Epist. ad Familiares*, v. 12, 7.

ris. Probum principem, cuius imperio oriens, occidens, meridies, septentrio omnesque orbis partes in totam securitatem[1] redactae sunt, scriptorum inopia iam
4 paene nescimus. occidit, pro pudor! tanti viri et talis historia qualem non habent bella Punica, non terror Gallicus, non motus Pontici, non Hispaniensis astutia.
5 sed non patiar ego ille, a quo dudum solus Aurelianus est expetitus, cuius vitam quantum potui persecutus, Tacito Florianoque iam scriptis non me ad Probi facta conscendere, si vita suppetet, omnes qui supersunt usque ad Maximianum Diocletianumque dicturus.
6 neque ego nunc facultatem eloquentiamque polliceor sed res gestas, quas perire non patior.

II. Usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam carissimam mihi familiaritatem tuam, praecipue libris ex Bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea Thermis Diocletianis, et item ex Domo Tiberiana, usus etiam regestis scribarum Porticus Porphyreticae, actis etiam senatus ac populi.
2 et quoniam me ad colligenda talis viri gesta ephemeris Turduli Gallicani plurimum iuvit, viri honestissimi ac sincerissimi, beneficium amici senis tacere non debui.

[1] *securitatem* Σ; *seueritatem* P.

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[1] Like the other persons to whom Vopiscus' biographies are addressed (*Aur.*, 1, 9, and *Firm.*, ii. 1), unknown, unless he is the Celsinus of *Aur.*, xliv. 3.

[2] M. Aurelius Probus Augustus (276-282). The name Valerius, by which he is called in c. xi. 5, is incorrectly given to him, as also to Claudius; see note to *Claud.*, i. 1. Probus is the hero of this group of biographies and this *vita* is little more than a panegyric; see especially c. xxii-xxiii; cf. *Tac.*, xvi. 6; *Car.*, i. 2.

[3] See *Aur.*, i. 7 and note. This is the only authority for its removal to the Baths of Diocletian (on which see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 7).

be inquiring, my dear Celsinus.[1] It means that Probus,[2] an emperor whose rule restored to perfect safety the east, the west, the south, and the north, indeed all parts of the world, is now, by reason of a lack of writers, almost unknown to us. Perished —shame be upon us!—has the story of a man so great and such as is not to be found either in the Punic Wars or in the Gallic terror, not in the commotions of Pontus or the wiles of the Spaniard. But I will not permit myself—I who at first sought out Aurelian alone, relating the story of his life to the best of my powers, and have since written of Tacitus and Florian also—to fail to rise to the deeds of Probus, purposing, should the length of my life suffice, to tell of all who remain as far as Maximian and Diocletian. No fluency or elegance of style can I promise, but only the record of their deeds, which I will not suffer to die.

II. I have used, moreover—not to deceive in any respect your friendly interest which I hold most dear —chiefly the books from the Ulpian Library[3] (in my time in the Baths of Diocletian) and likewise from the House of Tiberius,[4] and I have used also the registers of the clerks of the Porphyry Portico[5] and the transactions of the senate[6] and of the people; and since in collecting the deeds of so great a man I have received most aid from the journal of Turdulus Gallicanus,[7] a most honourable and upright man, I ought not to leave unmentioned the kindness of this aged friend.

[4] See *Pius*, x. 4 and note. This library is also mentioned in Aulus Gellius, xiii. 20, 1, and Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, iv. 5.

[5] This portico (called *Purpuretica*) is mentioned in an inscription as part of the Forum of Trajan (cf. *Hadr.*, vii. 6); see *C.I.L.*, vi. 7191 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 8729.

[6] See note to *Alex.*, lvi. 2. [7] Otherwise unknown.

3 Cn. Pompeium, tribus fulgentem triumphis belli piratici,[1] belli Sertoriani, belli Mithradatici multarumque rerum gestarum maiestate sublimem, quis tandem nosset, nisi eum Marcus Tullius et Titus Livius in
4 litteras rettulissent? Publium Scipionem Africanum, immo Scipiones omnes, seu Lucios seu Nasicas, nonne tenebrae possiderent ac tegerent, nisi commendatores eorum historici nobiles atque ignobiles exstitissent?
5 longum est omnia persequi, quae ad exemplum huiusce
6 modi etiam nobis tacentibus usurpanda sunt. illud tantum contestatum volo, me et rem scripsisse, quam si quis voluerit honestius eloquio celsiore demonstret.
7 et mihi quidem id animi fuit ut[2] non Sallustios, Livios, Tacitos, Trogos atque omnes disertissimos imitarer viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum, Fabium Marcellinum, Gargilium Martialem, Iulium Capitolinum, Aelium Lampridium ceterosque, qui haec et talia
8 non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. sum enim unus ex curiosis, quod infitias[3] ire non possum, incendentibus vobis, qui, cum multa sciatis, scire multo
9 plura cupitis. et ne diutius ea, quae ad meum consilium

[1] *piratici* Σ; *Parthici* P. [2] *ut* ins. by Peter; om. in P.
[3] *infitias* Peter; *infinitas* P[1].

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[1] Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, the brother of Africanus, was nominally in command of the Roman army at the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.

[2] There were no less than six men named P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the most famous of whom were the consul of 191 B.C., who in 204 had been declared by the senate to be the best man in Rome and so qualified to receive the image of the Magna

Who, pray, would know of Gnaeus Pompey, resplendent in the three triumphs that he won by his war against the pirates, his war against Sertorius, and his war against Mithradates, and exalted by the grandeur of his many achievements, had not Marcus Tullius and Titus Livius brought him into their works? And as for Publius Scipio Africanus, or rather all the Scipios, whether called Lucius[1] or Nasica,[2] would they not lie hidden in darkness, had not historians, both famous and obscure, arisen to grace their deeds? It would, indeed, be too long to enumerate all the cases which might be brought up by way of example of this sort of thing, even if I were silent. I do but wish to call to witness that I have also written on a theme which anyone, if he so desire, may narrate more worthily in loftier utterance. As for me, indeed, it has been my purpose, in relating the lives and times of the emperors, to imitate, not a Sallust, or a Livy, or a Tacitus, or a Trogus,[3] or any other of the most eloquent writers, but rather Marius Maximus,[4] Suetonius Tranquillus, Fabius Marcellinus,[5] Gargilius Martialis,[6] Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, and the others who have handed down to memory these and other such details not so much with eloquence as with truthfulness. For I am now an investigator—I cannot deny it—incited thereto by you, who, though you know much already, are desirous of learning much more besides. And now, lest I speak at too great length concerning all that has to do with

Mater, and his son, consul in 162 and 155 B.C., conqueror of Dalmatia and a famous orator.

[3] See note to *Aur.*, ii. 1.

[4] See note to *Hadr.*, ii. 10.

[5] See note to *Alex.*, xlviii. 6.

[6] See note to *Alex.*, xxxvii. 9.

pertinent, loquar, magnum et praeclarum principem et qualem historia nostra non novit, arripiam.

III. Probus oriundus e Pannonia, civitate Sirmiensi, nobiliore matre quam patre, patrimonio moderato, adfinitate non magna, tam privatus quam imperator
2 nobilissimus virtutibus claruit. Probo, ut quidam in litteras rettulerunt, pater nomine Maximus fuit, qui, cum ordines honestissime duxisset, tribunatum adeptus apud Aegyptum vita functus est uxore ac filio et
3 filia derelictis. multi dicunt Probum Claudii propinquum fuisse, optimi et sanctissimi principis, quod, quia per unum tantum Graecorum relatum est, nos in
4 medio relinquemus. unum tamen dico, quod in ephemeride legisse me memini, a Claudia sorore Probum
5 sepultum. adulescens Probus corporis viribus tam clarus est factus ut Valeriani iudicio tribunatum prope
6 imberbis acciperet. exstat epistula Valeriani ad Gallienum, qua Probum laudat adhuc adulescentem et
7 imitationi omnium proponit. ex quo apparet neminem umquam pervenisse ad virtutum summam iam maturum, nisi qui puer seminario virtutum generosiore concretus aliquid inclitum designasset.

IV. Epistula Valeriani:

"Valerianus pater Gallieno filio, Augustus Augusto. et meum secutus iudicium, quod semper de Probo adulescente primo habui, et omnium bonorum, qui

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[1] Mitrovitz; see note to *Aur.*, iii. 1.

[2] See note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

[3] Evidently a fiction, due to a desire on the part of the biographer to connect his hero with Pollio's.

[4] Probably fictitious, on account of her name, unless we may suppose that she was a half-sister.

my plan, I will hasten on to an emperor great and illustrious, the like of whom our history has never known.

III. Probus was a native of Pannonia, of the city of Sirmium,[1] his mother was of nobler birth than his father, his private fortune was modest, and his kindred unimportant. Both as commoner and as emperor he stood forth illustrious, famed for his virtues. His father, so some have said in their writings, was a man named Maximus, who, after commanding in the ranks[2] with honour and winning a tribuneship, died in Egypt, leaving a wife, a son, and a daughter. Many aver that Probus was a relative of Claudius,[3] that most excellent and venerated prince, but this, because it has been stated by only one of the Greek writers, we shall leave undiscussed. This one thing I will say, however, which I remember reading in the journal, namely, that Probus was buried by a sister named Claudia.[4] As a youth Probus became so famed for his bodily strength that by approval of Valerian he received a tribuneship almost before his beard was grown. There is still in existence a letter written by Valerian to Gallienus, in which he praises Probus, then still a youth, and holds him up for all to imitate. From this it is clear that no man has ever in his maturity attained to the sum of the virtues except one who, trained in the nobler nursery of the virtues, had as a boy given some sign of distinction.

IV. Valerian's letter:

"From Valerian the father to Gallienus the son, an Augustus to an Augustus. Following out the opinion which I have always held concerning Probus from his early youth, as well as that held by all good men,

eundem sui nominis virum dicunt, tribunatum in eum contuli datis sex cohortibus Saracenis, creditis etiam auxiliaribus Gallis cum ea Persarum manu quam nobis
2 Artabassis Syrus mancipavit. te quaeso, fili carissime, ut eum iuvenem, quem imitari pueris omnibus volo, in tanto habeas honore quantum virtutes eius et merita pro debito mentis splendore desiderant."
3 Alia epistula de eodem ad praefectum praetorio cum salario:

"Valerianus Augustus Mulvio Gallicano praefecto praetorio. mireris fortassis, quod ego imberbem tribunum fecerim contra sententiam [1] divi Hadriani, sed
4 non multum miraberis, si Probum cogitas; est adulescens vere probus; numquam enim aliud mihi, cum eum cogito, nisi eius nomen occurrit, quod nisi nomen
5 haberet, potuit habere cognomen. huic igitur dari iubebis, quoniam mediocris fortunae est, ut eius dignitas incrementis iuvetur, tunicas russulas duas, pallia Gallica duo fibulata, interulas paragaudias duas, patinam argenteam librarum decem specellatam, aureos Antoninianos centum, argenteos Aurelianos m lle,
6 aereos Philippeos decem milia; item in salario diurno, bubulae pondo . . ., porcinae pondo sex, caprinae pondo decem, gallinaceum per biduum, olei per biduum sextarium unum, vini veteris diurnos sextarios

[1] *contra sententiam* Gruter, Peter; *constentiam* P [1].

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[1] Unknown; the form is probably an error for the Armenian name Artavasdes; cf. *Val.*, iii. 1.
[2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] See *Hadr.*, x. 6.
[4] Cf. *Tac.*, xvi. 6.
[5] See note to *Claud.*, xvii. 6.
[6] See *Aur.*, ix. 7 and note.

who say that he is a man worthy of his name, I have appointed him to a tribuneship, assigning him six cohorts of Saracens and entrusting to him, besides, the Gallic irregulars along with that company of Persians which Artabassis [1] the Syrian delivered over to us. Now I beg of you, my dearest son, to hold this young man, whom I wish all the lads to imitate, in the high honour that his virtues and his services call for in view of what is owed him by reason of the brilliance of his mind."

Another letter about him, written to the prefect of the guard with an order for rations:

"From Valerian Augustus to Mulvius Gallicanus,[2] prefect of the guard. You may perhaps wonder why it is that contrary to the ruling of the Deified Hadrian [3] I have appointed as tribune a beardless youth. You will not, however, wonder much if you consider Probus; he is a young man of probity indeed.[4] For never, when I consider him myself, does aught suggest itself to me but his name, which, were it not his name already, he might well receive as a surname. Therefore, since his fortune is but a modest one, that his rank may be enhanced by an additional remuneration, you will order him to be supplied with two red tunics, two Gallic cloaks provided with clasps, two undertunics with bands of embroidery,[5] a silver platter, polished to reflect the light, to weigh ten pounds, one hundred aurei of Antoninus,[6] one thousand silver pieces of Aurelian, and ten thousand copper coins of Philip; likewise for his daily rations, . . . pounds of beef, six pounds of pork, ten pounds of goat's meat, one fowl every second day, one pint of oil every second day, ten pints of old wine every day, and a sufficient quantity of bacon, biscuit, cheap wine, salt, greens,

decem cum larido, bucellati,[1] aceti, salis, holerum, lig-
7 norum quantum sat est. hospitia praeterea eidem ut
tribunis legionum praeberi iubebis."

V. Et haec quidem epistulis declarantur. nunc quantum ex ephemeride colligi potuit: cum bello Sarmatico iam tribunus transmisso Danuvio multa fortiter fecisset, publice in contione donatus est hastis puris quattuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis puris quattuor, armillis aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera sacrificali quinquelibri una.
2 quo quidem tempore Valerium Flaccinum, adulescentem nobilem, parentem Valeriani, e Quadorum liberavit manu. unde illi Valerianus coronam civicam
3 detulit. verba Valeriani pro contione habita: "Suscipe, Probe, praemia pro re publica, suscipe coronam
4 civicam pro parente." quo quidem tempore legionem tertiam eidem addidit, sub testimonio huiusmodi.
5 Epistula de legione tertia:

"Res gestae tuae, Probe carissime, faciunt ut et serius tradere maiores tibi exercitus videar et cito
6 tamen tradam. recipe in fidem tuam legionem tertiam Felicem, quam ego adhuc nulli nisi provecto iam credidi; mihi autem eo tempore credita est, quo et me
7 canosum qui credebat cum gratulatione vidit. sed ego in te non exspecto aetatem, cum et virtutibus

[1] *bucellati aceti* Purser (cf. *Av. Cass.* v. 3); *bolulaci* P; *pabuli aceti* Peter, Hohl.

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[1] See notes to *Aur.*, xiii. 3.
[2] See note to *Marc.*, xii. 8.
[3] See note to *Claud.*, xiii. 8.
[4] Otherwise unknown.

and firewood. You will order, furthermore, that quarters be assigned to him as they are to the tribunes of the legions."

V. The foregoing details are attested by the letters. Now as to what I have been able to gather from the journal: Whereas during the Sarmatian war, while holding the rank of tribune, he had crossed the Danube and performed many brave exploits, he was formally presented in an assembly with four spears without points,[1] two rampart-crowns, one civic crown,[2] four white banners, two golden arm-bands,[3] one golden collar, one sacrificial saucer weighing five pounds. At this same time, indeed, he delivered out of the hands of the Quadi Valerius Flaccinus,[4] a young man of noble birth and a kinsman of Valerian's, and it was for this reason that Valerian presented him with the civic crown. The words of Valerian spoken before the assembly were: "Receive these rewards, Probus, from the commonwealth, receive this civic crown from a kinsman." At this time, too, he added the Third Legion to his command, with a testimonial as follows.

The letter concerning the Third Legion:

"Your exploits, my dear Probus, are causing me to appear too tardy in assigning you larger forces, and yet I will assign them with haste. So take under your faithful care the Third Legion, the Fortunate,[5] which as yet I have not entrusted to any save one well advanced in years; it was entrusted to me, moreover, at an age when he who entrusted it, along with congratulations, beheld my grey hairs. In your case, however, I shall not wait for age, for your virtues are now illustrious and your character is strong. I have given command to supply you with three sets

[5] See note to *Aur.*, xi. 4.

8 fulgeas,[1] et moribus polleas. vestes tibi triplices dari iussi, salarium duplex feci, vexillarium deputavi."

VI. Longum est, si per res gestas tanti percurram viri, quae ille sub Valeriano, quae sub Gallieno, quae sub Aureliano et Claudio privatus fecerit, quoties murum conscenderit, vallum diripuerit, hostem comminus interemerit,[2] dona principum emeruerit, rem publicam in antiquum statum sua virtute reddiderit.
2 docet Gallieni epistula ad tribunos data qui fuerit Probus:

"Gallienus Augustus tribunis exercituum Illyricianorum. etiamsi patrem meum fatalis belli Persici necessitas tenuit, habeo tamen parentem Aurelium Probum, quo laborante possim esse securus. qui si adfuisset, numquam ille ne nominandus quidem
3 tyrannus sibi usurpasset imperium. quare omnes vos consiliis eius cupio parere[3] qui et patris iudicio probatus est et senatus."

4 Non magnum fortassis iudicium Gallieni esse videatur, principis mollioris, sed, quod negari non potest, ne dissolutus quidem quispiam se nisi in eius fidem tradit,
5 cuius sibi virtutes aestimat profuturas. sed esto, Gallieni epistula sequestretur, quid Aureliani iudicium? qui Probo decimanos, fortissimos exercitus sui et cum quibus ipse ingentia gesserat, tradidit sub huius modi testimonio:

6 "Aurelianus Augustus Probo salutem dicit. ut scias

[1] *fulgeas* Σ; *fulges* P. [2] *interemerit* Σ; *interemit* P.
[3] *parere* Σ; *parare* P.

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[1] See note to *Val.*, i. 1.

of garments, I have ordered you double rations, and I have assigned you a standard-bearer."

VI. It would be a lengthy task, were I to enumerate all the exploits of so great a man, which he performed as a commoner under Valerian, under Gallienus, under Aurelian, and under Claudius, how many times he scaled a wall, tore down a rampart, slew the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight, won the gifts of emperors, and by his valour restored the commonwealth to its ancient condition. Gallienus' letter, addressed to the tribunes, shows what manner of man was Probus:

"From Gallienus Augustus to the tribunes of the armies in Illyricum. Even if the destined fate of the Persian war has taken away my father,[1] I have still my kinsman Aurelius Probus, through whose efforts I may be free from care. Had he been present, never would that pretender, whose name even should not be mentioned, have dared to usurp the imperial power. Wherefore, it is my wish that all of you should obey the counsels of one who has been approved by the judgement both of my father and of the senate."

It may seem perhaps that the judgement of Gallienus, so weak an emperor, is not worth much, but at least it cannot be denied that no one, not even a weakling, entrusts himself to the protection of a man unless he believes that his virtues will profit him. But be it so! Let Gallienus' letter be set aside. What will you say to the judgement of Aurelian? For he handed over to Probus the soldiers of the Tenth Legion, the bravest of his army, with whom he himself had done mighty deeds, giving him the following testimonial:

"From Aurelian Augustus to Probus, greetings. In

quanti te faciam, decimanos meos sume, quos Claudius mihi credidit. isti enim sunt qui quadam felicitatis praerogativa praesules nisi futuros principes habere non norunt."

7 Ex quo intellectum est Aurelianum in animo hoc habuisse, ut, si quid sibi scienti prudentique eveniret, Probum principem faceret.

VII. Iam Claudii, iam Taciti iudicia de Probo longum est innectere, quamvis feratur in senatu Tacitus dixisse, cum eidem offerretur imperium, debere Probum principem fieri. sed ego senatus consultum ipsum non inveni.

2 Ipse autem Tacitus imperator primam talem ad Probum epistulam dedit:

3 "Tacitus Augustus Probo. me quidem senatus principem fecit de prudentis exercitus voluntate. attamen sciendum tibi est tuis nunc umeris magis incubuisse rem publicam. qui et quantus sis omnes novimus, scit senatus. adesto igitur nostris necessitatibus, tuae
4 familiae adsere, ut soles, rem publicam. nos tibi decreto totius orientis ducatu salarium quinquiplex fecimus, ornamenta militaria geminavimus, consulatum in annum proximum nobiscum decrevimus; te enim manet pro virtutibus tuis Capitolina palmata."

5 Ferunt quidam Probo id pro imperii omine fuisse, quod Tacitus scripsit, "Te manet Capitolina palmata."

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[1] There is no evidence for this, and it is evidently only an attempt to legitimatize the imperium of the author's hero.

[2] As a matter of fact, Probus was not consul until 277.

[3] See *Gord.*, iv. 4 and notes.

order that you may know how much I think of you, take the command of my Tenth Legion, which Claudius entrusted to me. For these are soldiers who know as commanders none but those destined to be emperors —an assurance, as it were, of favourable fortune."

From this it was seen that Aurelian had in mind, in case aught befell him—wise and far-sighted that he was—to make Probus emperor.

VII. Now the judgement of Claudius concerning Probus and that of Tacitus also it would be too long to include; but it is reported that Tacitus said in the senate, when offered the imperial power, that Probus should be chosen as emperor.[1] But the senate's decree itself I have not been able to find.

Tacitus himself, moreover, sent to Probus his first letter as emperor in the following vein:

"From Tacitus Augustus to Probus. I, it is true, have been made emperor by the senate in conformity with the wishes of our sagacious army. You, however, must know that it is on your shoulders that the burden of the commonwealth has now been laid more heavily. What sort of man and how great you are we all have learned, and the senate also knows. And so aid us in our need and, as is your custom, look upon the commonwealth as a part of your own household. We have voted to you the command of the entire East, we have granted you five-fold rations, we have doubled your military insignia, we have appointed you consul[2] for the coming year as colleague to ourselves; for by reason of your virtues, the palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium[3] awaits you."

Some relate that Probus regarded it as an omen of imperial power that Tacitus should have written, "The palm-embroidered tunic from the Capitolium awaits

sed in hanc sententiam omnibus semper consulibus scribebatur.

VIII. Amor militum erga Probum ingens semper fuit. neque enim umquam ille passus est peccare militem. ille quin etiam Aurelianum saepe a gravi
2 crudelitate deduxit. ille singulos manipulos adiit, vestes et calciamenta perspexit, si quid praedae fuit, ita divisit ut sibi nihil praeter tela et arma servaret.
3 quin etiam cum de praedato, sive[1] ex Alanis sive ex aliqua alia gente—incertum est—repertus esset equus non decorus neque ingens, qui, quantum captivi loquebantur, centum ad diem milia currere diceretur, ita ut per dies octo vel decem continuaret, et omnes crederent Probum tale animal sibimet servaturum, iam primum dixit: "Fugitivo militi potius quam forti
4 hic equus convenit." deinde in urnam nomina[2] milites iussit mittere, ut aliqui eum sorte ductus
5 acciperet. et cum essent in exercitu quidam nomine Probi alii quattuor milites, casu evenit ut qui primum emergeret ei[3] Probo nomen exsisteret, cum ipsius
6 Probi ducis nomen missum non esset. sed cum quattuor illi milites inter se contenderent ac sortem sibi quisque defenderet, iussit iterum agitari urnam. sed et iterum Probi nomen emersit; cumque tertio et
7 quarto fecisset, quarto Probi nomen effusum est. tunc omnis exercitus equum illum Probo duci dicavit, ipsis etiam militibus, quorum nomina exierant, id volentibus.

[1] *hic* P. [2] So Walter; *nomina* om. in P; *nomen suum* ins. after *iussit* by Peter and Hohl. [3] So Peter and Hohl; *emergeret ei* om. in P.

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[1] See note to *Pius*, v. 5.

you," but as a matter of fact this expression was always used in writing to every consul.

VIII. The soldiers' love for Probus was always unbounded. Never, indeed, did he permit any of them to commit a wrong. Moreover, he often prevented Aurelian from some act of great cruelty. He visited each maniple and inspected its clothing and boots, and whenever there was plunder he divided it so as to keep naught for himself but weapons and armour. Once, indeed, when a horse was found among the booty taken from the Alani[1] or some other nation—for this is uncertain—which, though not handsome or especially large, was reputed, according to the talk of the captives, to be able to run one hundred miles in a day and to continue for eight or ten days, all supposed that Probus would keep such a beast for himself. But first he remarked, "This horse is better suited to a soldier who flees than to one who fights," and then he ordered the men to put their names into an urn, that the one drawn by lot should receive the horse. Then, since there were in the army four other soldiers named Probus, it so chanced that the name of Probus appeared on the lot that first came forth, though the general's name had not been put into the urn. And when the four soldiers strove with one another, each maintaining that the lot was his, he ordered the urn to be shaken a second time. But a second time, too, the name of Probus came forth; and when it was done for the third and the fourth time, on the fourth time also there leaped forth the name of Probus. Then the entire army set apart that horse for Probus their general, and even those very soldiers whose names had come forth from the urn desired it thus.

IX. Pugnavit et contra Marmaridas in Africa fortissime eosdemque vicit atque ex Libya Carthaginem transiit eandemque a rebellionibus vindicavit. 2 pugnavit et singulari certamine contra quendam Aradionem in Africa eundemque prostravit et, quia fortissimum ac pertinacissimum virum viderat, sepulchro ingenti honoravit, quod adhuc exstat tumulo usque ad ducentos pedes terra elato[1] per milites, quos 3 otiosos esse numquam est passus. exstant apud Aegyptum eius opera, quae per milites struxit, in plurimis civitatibus. in Nilo autem tam multa fecit 4 ut vectigal frumentarium solus adiuverit. pontes, templa, porticus, basilicas labore militum struxit, ora fluminum multa patefecit, paludes plerasque siccavit 5 atque in his segetes agrosque constituit. pugnavit etiam contra Palmyrenos Odaenathi et Cleopatrae partibus Aegyptum defendentes, primo feliciter, postea temere, ut paene caperetur; sed postea refectis viribus Aegyptum et orientis maximam partem in Aureliani potestatem redegit.

X. Cum his igitur tot ac[2] tantis virtutibus eniteret,

[1] *terra elato* P corr., Salm.; *terra elatum* P^1, Peter, Hohl.
[2] *ac* om. in P.

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[1] The inhabitants of Marmarica, the district between Egypt and Cyrenaica; they had been conquered by P. Sulpicius Quirinius about 20 B.C.

[2] Unknown.

[3] This may have been in connection with Aurelian's policy of using the revenues from Egypt for the benefit of the city of Rome (cf. *Aur.*, xlv. 1; xlvii. 1-3), but perhaps this statement is out of the proper order, for a papyrus dated 1 April, 278 (Probus' third year as emperor) contains an official command for building dykes and cleaning canals. As this would scarcely

IX. He also fought with great bravery against the Marmaridae [1] in Africa and defeated them too, and from Libya he passed over to Carthage and saved it from rebels. And he fought a single combat in Africa against a certain Aradio [2] and overcame him, and because he had seen that he was a valiant and resolute man, he honoured him with a mighty tomb, still standing on a mound of earth two hundred feet high piled up by the soldiers, whom he never allowed to be idle. There are still to be seen in many cities in Egypt public works of his, which he caused to be built by the soldiers. On the Nile, moreover, he did so much that his sole efforts added greatly to the tithes of grain. He constructed bridges and temples, porticos and basilicas, all by the labour of the soldiers, he opened up many river-mouths, and drained many marshes,[3] and put in their place grain-fields and farms. He fought also against the Palmyrenes who held Egypt for the party of Odaenathus and Cleopatra,[4] fighting at first with success, but later so recklessly that he nearly was captured; later, however, when his forces were strengthened, he brought Egypt [5] and the greater part of the Orient under the sway of Aurelian.

X. And so, resplendent by reason of these many

have been necessary if Probus had caused it to be done as here described, it would seem that the work was begun in 278 and was still in operation in 280, when Probus may have been in Egypt (c. xvii. 2-3); see W. L. Westermann in *Aegyptus*, i. p. 297 f.

[4] *i.e.*, Zenobia. This campaign is described in *Claud.*, xi. 1-2, where the Roman general is called Probatus. There is no reason to suppose that Probus was in Egypt under Claudius.

[5] Between March and September, 271; see note to *Aur.*, xxii. 3.

Tacito absumpto fataliter ac Floriano imperium arripiente omnes orientales exercitus eundem im-
2 peratorem fecerunt. non inepta[1] neque inelegans fabula est scire quemadmodum imperium Probus
3 sumpserit. cum ad exercitus nuntius venisset, tum primum animus militibus fuit praevenire Italicos
4 exercitus, ne iterum senatus principem daret. sed cum inter milites sermo esset quis fieri deberet, et manipulatim in campo tribuni eos adloquerentur, dicentes requirendum esse principem aliquem fortem, sanctum, verecundum, clementem, probum, idque per multos circulos, ut fieri adsolet, diceretur, quasi divino nutu undique ab omnibus adclamatum est, "Probe
5 Auguste, di te servent!" deinde concursus et caespiticium tribunal, appellatusque imperator, ornatus etiam pallio purpureo, quod de statua templi oblatum est, atque inde ad palatium reductus, invitus et retractans et saepe dicens: "Non vobis expedit, milites, non mecum bene agetis. ego enim vobis blandiri non possum."

6 Prima eius epistula, data ad Capitonem praefectum praetorio, talis fuit: "Imperium numquam optavi et invitus accepi. deponere mihi rem invidiosissimam
7 non licet. agenda est persona quam mihi miles imposuit. te quaeso, Capito, ita mecum salva re publica

[1] *inepta* Σ; *inaegyptum* P.

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[1] See *Tac.*, xiii. 5 and note.

[2] As there are Alexandrian coins of Probus minted before 29 Aug., 276 (J. Vogt, *die Alex. Münzen*, p. 218), he was made emperor in the summer of 276. He was probably acclaimed in the East about the same time that Florian was acclaimed in the West; see note to *Tac.*, xiv. 2. Zosimus (i. 64, 1) and Zonaras (xii. 29) relate that he was acknowledged in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, while Asia Minor and Europe supported

great virtues, when Tacitus had been removed[1] by the decree of Fate and Florian was seizing the rule, he was created emperor by all the troops of the East.[2] Nor is the story of how he got the imperial power an idle or tiresome tale. When the news came to the armies, the soldiers' first thought was how to forestall the armies of Italy, that the senate might not a second time appoint a prince. But when discussion arose among them as to who should be chosen and the tribunes addressed them by maniples on their parade-ground, saying that they must look for a prince who would be brave and revered, modest and gentle and a man of probity,[3] and this was repeated, as is wont to be done, throughout many groups, all on all sides, as though by divine command, shouted out, "Probus Augustus, may the gods keep you!" Then they ran together, a tribunal of turf was erected, and Probus was saluted as emperor, being even decked with a purple robe, which they took from a temple-statue; from there he was led to the palace,[4] against his will and protesting and saying again and again, "It is not to your own interest, soldiers, with me you will not fare well, for I cannot court your favour."

His first letter, addressed to Capito,[5] prefect of the guard, was as follows: "I have never desired the imperial power and I have accepted it against my will. I may not refuse an office which is most distasteful to me. I must play the part which the soldiers have assigned me. I beg of you, Capito, as

Florian. Probus' proclamation as emperor by the army of the East seems to be commemorated by coins with the legend *Exercitus Pers(icus)*; see Cohen, vi.[2] p. 273, no. 207.

[3] See *Tac.*, xvi. 6 and note.

[4] See note to *Sev.*, xxii. 7.

[5] Otherwise unknown.

perfruaris, annonam et commeatus et quicquid necessarium est ubique militi[1] pares. ego, quantum in me est, si recte omnia gubernaveris, praefectum alterum non habebo."

8 Cognito itaque quod imperaret Probus milites Florianum, qui quasi hereditarium arripuerat imperium,[2] interemerunt, scientes neminem dignius posse imperare
9 quam Probum. ita ei sine ulla molestia totius orbis imperium et militum et senatus iudicio delatum est.

XI. Et quoniam mentionem senatus fecimus, sciendum est quid ipse ad senatum scripserit, quid item ad eum amplissimus ordo rescripserit:

2 Oratio Probi prima ad senatum:

"Recte atque ordine, patres conscripti, proximo superiore anno factum est ut[3] vestra clementia orbi terrarum principem daret, et quidem de vobis, qui et estis mundi principes et semper fuistis et in vestris
3 posteris eritis. atque utinam id etiam Florianus exspectare voluisset nec velut hereditarium sibi vindicasset imperium, vel illum vel alium quempiam
4 maiestas vestra fecisset. nunc quoniam ille imperium arripuit, nobis a militibus delatum est nomen Augustum, vindicatum quin etiam in illum a prudentioribus militibus, quod fuerat usurpatum. quaeso ut de meis meritis iudicetis[4] facturus quicquid iusserit vestra clementia."

[1] *militi* Σ; *milites* P. [2] *arripuerat imperium* Σ, ins. by Peter and Hohl; om. in P. [3] *ut* Σ; *ad* P. [4] *iudicetis* ins. by Hohl (Helm); om. in P and by Peter.

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[1] Apparently modelled on Cicero, *in Catil.*, iv. 11.
[2] See *Tac.*, xiv. 2 and note.

you hope to enjoy with me the state in safety,[1] to supply the soldiers everywhere with grain and provisions and all necessities. I assure you that in so far as it lies in me, I will have no other prefect if you administer all things well."

And so, when it was known that Probus was emperor, the soldiers killed Florian,[2] who had seized the imperial power as though an inheritance, for they knew well that no one could rule more worthily than Probus. Accordingly, without any effort of his, the rule of the whole world was conferred upon him by the voice of both army and senate.

XI. Now, since we have mentioned the senate, it should be made known what he himself wrote to the senate and likewise what reply that most noble body wrote back to him:

The first message of Probus to the senate:

"Rightly and duly did you act, Conscript Fathers, in the last year that has passed, when your clemency gave to the world a prince,[3] and one, indeed, from among yourselves, you who are the princes of the world, as you have ever been in the past and shall continue to be in the days of your descendants. And I would that Florian also had been content to wait for this and had not claimed the imperial power as though an inheritance, or even that your majesty had made him or some other man your prince. But now, since he has seized the imperial power, we have been offered the name of Augustus by the army, while he has even been punished by the wiser soldiers because he usurped it. I beg you, therefore, to judge concerning my merits, for I am ready to do whatsoever your clemency shall command."

[3] *i.e.*, Tacitus; see *Tac.*, iii.-vi.

5 Item senatus consultum :

Die III nonas Feb. in Aede Concordiae inter cetera Aelius Scorpianus consul dixit: "Audistis, patres conscripti, litteras Aurelii Valerii Probi; de his quid vide-
6 tur?" tunc adclamatum est: "Probe August, di te servent. olim dignus et fortis et iustus, bonus ductor, bonus imperator, exemplum militiae, exemplum im-
7 perii. di te servent. adsertor rei publicae felix imperes, magister militiae felix imperes, te cum tuis
8 di custodiant. et senatus antea te delegit. aetate Tacito posterior, ceteris prior, quod imperium suscepisti gratias agimus. tuere nos, tuere rem publicam.
9 bene tibi committimus quos ante servasti. tu Francicus, tu Gothicus, tu Sarmaticus, tu Parthicus, tu omnia. et prius fuisti semper dignus imperio, dignus triumphis. felix agas, feliciter imperes."

XII. Post haec Manlius Statianus, qui primae sententiae tunc erat, ita locutus est: "Dis inmortalibus gratias et prae ceteris, patres conscripti, Iovi Optimo, qui nobis principem talem qualem semper optabamus
2 dederunt. si recte cogitemus, non nobis Aurelianus, non Alexander, non Antonini, non Traianus, non Claudius requirendi sunt. omnia in uno principe constituta sunt, rei militaris scientia, animus clemens, vita

[1] On such "senatus consulta" and acclamations, see notes to *Val.*, v. 3 and 4.

[2] This date is also given (incorrectly) as that of the announcement in Rome of Aurelian's death; see *Aur.*, xli. 3. In this instance it is also incorrect, since Florian was killed in the summer (probably August) of 276; see note to *Tac.*, xiv. 2. There is no record of any consul named Scorpianus in 276.

[3] See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.

[4] See note to c. i. 3.

[5] Of all these cognomina only Gothicus was ever borne by Probus; see note to c. xiii. 5.

Likewise the decree of the senate[1]:

On the third day before the Nones of February,[2] in the Temple of Concord,[3] Aelius Scorpianus, the consul, said during his speech: "Conscript Fathers, you have listened to the letter of Aurelius Valerius[4] Probus; now what is your pleasure concerning it?" Thereupon they shouted out: "Probus Augustus, may the gods keep you! Long since worthy, brave and just, a good leader, a good commander, an example in warfare, an example in command. May the gods keep you! Deliverer of the commonwealth, may you be happy in your rule, master in warfare, may you be happy in your rule! May the gods guard you and yours! Even before this the senate chose you. In years inferior to Tacitus, in all else superior. For having accepted the imperial power we give you our thanks. Protect us, protect the commonwealth. Rightly do we entrust to your keeping those whom you formerly saved. You are Francicus, you are Gothicus, you are Sarmaticus, you are Parthicus,[5] you are all things. In former years, too, you were ever worthy of command, worthy of triumphs. Happily may you live, happily rule!"

XII. Thereupon Manlius Statianus,[6] whose right it then was to give his opinion first, spoke as follows: "All thanks to the immortal gods, Conscript Fathers, and above the others to Jupiter the Best, for they have given us such an emperor as we always desired. If we consider the matter rightly we need seek no Aurelian, no Alexander, no Antonines, no Trajan, no Claudius. All their qualities are found in this one prince, knowledge of warfare, a merciful spirit, a

[6] Otherwise unknown.

venerabilis, exemplar agendae rei publicae atque om-
3 nium praerogativa virtutum. enimvero quae mundi
pars est, quam ille non vincendo didicerit? testes sunt
Marmaridae, in Africae solo victi, testes Franci, in[1]
inviis strati paludibus, testes Germani et Alamanni,
4 longe a Rheni summoti litoribus. iam vero quid Sar-
matas loquor, quid Gothos, quid Parthos ac Persas
atque omnem Ponticum tractum? ubique vigent[2] Probi
5 virtutis insignia. longum est dicere quot reges mag-
narum gentium fugarit, quot duces manu sua occiderit,
6 quantum armorum sit, quae ipse cepit privatus. superi-
ores principes quas illi gratias egerint, testes sunt lit-
terae publicis insertae monumentis. di boni, quotiens
ille donis militaribus est donatus! quas militum laudes
emeruit! adulescens tribunatus, non longe post adules-
7 centiam regendas legiones accepit. Iuppiter Optime
Maxime, Iuno Regina tuque virtutum praesul Minerva,
tu orbis Concordia et tu Romana Victoria, date hoc
senatui populoque Romano, date militibus, date sociis
atque exteris nationibus[3]: imperet quemadmodum
8 militavit! decerno igitur, patres conscripti, votis
omnium concinentibus nomen imperatorium, nomen
Caesareanum, nomen Augustum, addo proconsulare
imperium, patris patriae reverentiam, pontificatum
maximum, ius tertiae relationis, tribuniciam potes-
tatem." post haec adclamatum est, "Omnes, omnes."

[1] *in* om. in P. [2] *uigent* Σ; *uigeant* P. [3] *nationibus* Σ; *nationes* P.

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[1] See *Marc.*, vi. 6 and notes.

revered life, a pattern for conducting the commonwealth, and the assurance of every virtue. For what part of the world is there which he has not learned to know by conquering it? Witness the Marmaridae, conquered on African soil, witness the Franks, overthrown amid pathless marshes, witness the Germans and the Alamanni, driven far back from the banks of the Rhine. But why need I now speak of Sarmatians, of Goths, of Parthians and Persians, and all the expanse of Pontus? In all places the signs of Probus' valour abound. It were too long to relate how many kings of mighty nations he drove into flight, how many commanders he slew with his own hand, how many arms he captured unaided while still a commoner. What thanks former emperors gave him their letters attest, now placed in the public memorials. Ye Gods, how many times he has been presented with military gifts! What praise he has won from the soldiers! As a youth he received a tribuneship, not long after his youth the command of legions. O Jupiter, Best and Greatest, thou, Juno our Queen, thou, Minerva, patroness of the virtues, thou, Concord of the world and thou, Victory of Rome, do ye all grant this to the senate and the people of Rome, grant this to our soldiers, grant this to our allies and to foreign nations: may he rule even as he has served! Therefore, Conscript Fathers, in accordance with the harmonious wish of us all I vote him the name of emperor, the name of Caesar, the name of Augustus; and I add thereto the proconsular command, the revered title of Father of his Country, the chief pontificate, the right of three proposals in the senate,[1] and the tribunician power." Thereupon they shouted out, "So say we all of us, all of us."

XIII. Accepto igitur hoc senatus consulto secunda oratione permisit patribus ut ex magnorum iudicum appellationibus ipsi cognoscerent, proconsules crearent, legatos proconsulibus[1] darent, ius praetorium praesidibus darent, leges quas Probus ederet senatus consultis propriis consecrarent.

2 Statim deinde, si quidam ex interfectoribus Aureliani superfuerant, vario genere vindicavit, mollius tamen moderatiusque quam prius exercitus et postea Tacitus
3 vindicaverant. deinde animadvertit etiam in eos qui Tacito insidias fecerant. Floriani sociis pepercit, quod non tyrannum aliquem videbantur secuti, sed sui prin-
4 cipis fratrem. recepit deinde omnes Europenses exercitus, qui Florianum et imperatorem fecerant et occiderant.

5 His gestis cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petiit, quae omnes occiso Postumo turbatae fuerant, interfecto
6 Aureliano a Germanis possessae. tanta autem illic proelia et tam feliciter gessit, ut a barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates, praedam deinde omnem, qua illi praeter divitias etiam[2] effere-
7 bantur ad gloriam. et cum iam in nostra ripa, immo per omnes Gallias, securi vagarentur, caesis prope

[1] *proconsulibus* Mommsen; *consulibus* P; *ex consulibus* Salm., Peter. [2] *diuitias etiam* Cas; *diuinas tamen* P.

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[1] See note to *Tac.*, xviii. 3.

[2] This is not clear, for the provincial governors had always had judicial functions.

[3] See *Aur.*, xxxvii. 2 and *Tac.*, xiii. 1. According to Zosimus, i. 65, he resorted to the ruse of inviting them to a banquet and had them killed there.

[4] See *Tac.*, xiv. 2 and note.

XIII. On receiving this decree of the senate, then, Probus in a second message granted the fathers the right to decide on appeals from the highest judges,[1] to appoint the proconsuls, to name the proconsuls' legates, to confer on the governors the rights of a praetor,[2] and to sanction by special decree of the senate all the laws that Probus enacted.

Immediately thereafter he punished in various ways all the slayers of Aurelian who still survived, but he used therein more mildness and leniency than the army at first and Tacitus later had shown.[3] Next he punished those also who had formed a plot against Tacitus, but the comrades of Florian he spared, because they seemed to have followed no mere pretender but the brother of their prince. He then received the submission of all the armies of Europe, who had made Florian emperor and then had killed him.[4]

This done, he set out with a huge army for the provinces of Gaul,[5] which since the death of Postumus had all been in turmoil, and after the murder of Aurelian had been seized by the Germans.[6] There, moreover, he fought battles so great and successful that he took back from the barbarians sixty most famous communes of Gaul, besides all the booty, by which the Germans, even apart from the actual wealth, were puffed up with glory. And whereas they were wandering at large on our bank or rather through all the country of Gaul, Probus, after slaying about four

[5] In 277. In the autumn of 276 he probably completed the war begun by Tacitus and Florian against the Goths in Asia Minor, since in an inscription of 277 he bears the title Gothicus; see *C.I.L.*, xi. 1178 b.

[6] See note to *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

quadringentis milibus, qui Romanum occupaverant solum, reliquos[1] ultra Nicrum fluvium et Albam re-
8 movit. tantum his praedae barbaricae tulit quantum ipsi Romanis abstulerant. contra urbes Romanas castra in solo barbarico posuit atque illic milites col-
XIV. locavit. agros et horrea et domos et annonam Transrhenanis omnibus fecit, iis videlicet quos in excubiis
2 conlocavit. nec cessatum est umquam pugnari, cum cottidie ad eum barbarorum capita deferrentur, iam ad singulos aureos singula, quamdiu reguli novem ex diversis gentibus venirent atque ad pedes Probi
3 iacerent. quibus ille primum obsides imperavit, qui statim dati sunt, deinde frumentum, postremo etiam
4 vaccas atque oves. dicitur iussisse his acrius ut gladiis non uterentur, Romanam exspectaturi defen-
5 sionem, si essent ab aliquibus vindicandi. sed visum est id non posse fieri, nisi si limes Romanus exten-
6 deretur et fieret Germania tota provincia. maxime tamen ipsis regibus consentientibus in eos vindicatum
7 est qui praedam fideliter non reddiderunt. accepit

[1] *reliquos* Σ; *reliquas* P.

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[1] Greatly exaggerated, like the number in *Claud.*, vi. 4.

[2] The Swabian Alb, a plateau south of the Neckar and east of the Black Forest; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, i. 1299. According to the much fuller account in Zosimus, i. 67-68, Probus conducted this campaign (against the Alamanni) in person, while his generals fought against the Franks further north. Zosimus' narrative is embellished with picturesque details such as a miraculous rain, which saved Probus' army from starvation, and the capture of a German chieftain of the Longiones (Lugii) named Semnon. A second campaign, against the Burgundians and Vandals, which Zosimus records, is omitted

hundred thousand[1] who had seized upon Roman soil, drove all the rest back beyond the river Neckar and the district of Alba,[2] getting from them as much barbarian booty as they themselves had seized from the Romans. Opposite the Roman cities, moreover, he built camps on barbarian soil[3] and in these he stationed troops. XIV. He also provided farms and store-houses, homes and rations of grain for all beyond the Rhine, for those only, that is, whom he placed in the garrisons there. All the while the heads of barbarians were brought in to him daily, now at the price of an aureus apiece, and he never ceased fighting until nine princes of different tribes came before him and prostrated themselves at his feet. From these he demanded, first hostages, which they gave him at once, then grain, and last of all their cows and their sheep. It is said, moreover, that he sharply ordered them not to use swords, since now they might count on protection from Rome in case they must be defended against any foe. It appeared, however, that this could not be accomplished, unless the Roman frontier were advanced and the whole of Germany turned into a province. Nevertheless, with the princes' consent, he punished severely those who did not faithfully give back the booty. He took, besides, sixteen thousand recruits, all of whom he scattered

by the biographer, unless we are to suppose with Dannhäuser (*Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. Kaisers Probus*, p. 56 f.) that this battle took place when Probus was in Raetia; see c. xvi. 1. In celebration of his success he assumed the title Germanicus Maximus and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germ(anica)*; see Cohen, vi². p. 328 f., nos. 754-776.

[3] *i.e.*, on the right bank of the Rhine, which he hoped to make the frontier instead of the old *limes* (on which see note to *Hadr.*, xii. 6).

praeterea sedecim milia tironum, quos omnes per diversas provincias sparsit, ita ut numeris vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos et sexagenos intersereret, dicens sentiendum esse non videndum cum auxiliaribus barbaris Romanus iuvatur.

XV. Compositis igitur rebus in Gallia tales ad senatum litteras dedit: "Ago dis inmortalibus gratias, patres conscripti, quia vestra in me iudicia compro- 2 barunt. subacta est omnis qua tenditur late Germania, novem reges gentium diversarum ad meos pedes, immo ad vestros, supplices stratique iacuerunt. omnes iam barbari vobis arant, vobis iam serunt[1] et 3 contra interiores gentes militant. supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. nam et quadrigenta milia hostium caesa sunt, et sedecim milia armatorum nobis oblata, et septuaginta urbes nobilissimae a captivitate hostium vindicatae, et omnes penitus Galliae 4 liberatae. coronas, quas mihi obtulerunt omnes Galliae civitates aureas, vestrae, patres conscripti clementiae dedicavi. eas Iovi Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis deabusque inmortalibus vestris manibus consecrate. 5 praeda omnis recepta est, capta etiam alia, et quidem 6 maior quam fuerat ante direpta. arantur Gallicana rura barbaris bubus et iuga Germanica captiva praebent nostris colla cultoribus, pascuntur ad nostrorum alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum, equinum pecus nostro iam fecundatur equitatui, frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea. quid plura? illis sola relinquimus

[1] *serunt* Salm., Peter; *seruiunt* P, Σ, Hohl.

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[1] According to Zosimus, i. 68, 3, he settled some of the captured Germans in Britain.

through the various provinces,[1] incorporating bodies of fifty or sixty in the detachments or among the soldiers along the frontier; for he said that the aid that Romans received from barbarian auxiliaries must be felt but not seen.

XV. And so, the affairs in Gaul being settled, he sent to the senate the following letter: "I give thanks, Conscript Fathers, to the immortal gods that they have confirmed your judgment of me. For all of Germany, throughout its whole extent, has now been subdued, and nine princes of different tribes have lain suppliant and prostrate at my feet, or, I should say, at yours. Now all the barbarians plough for you, plant for you, and serve against the more distant tribes. Therefore do you, in accord with your custom, decree thanksgivings. For four hundred thousand of our foes have been slain, sixteen thousand armed men are at our disposal, seventy most famous cities have been rescued from the enemy's possession, and all the Gallic provinces have been made entirely free. The crowns of gold which all the communes of Gaul have bestowed upon me I have dedicated to your clemency, Conscript Fathers. Do you, with your own hands, now consecrate them to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to the other immortal gods and goddesses. All booty has been regained, other booty too has been captured, greater, indeed, than that which was previously taken. The barbarians' oxen now plough the farms of Gaul, the Germans' yoked cattle, now captive, submit their necks to our husbandmen, the flocks of divers tribes are fed for the nourishing of our troops, their herds of horses are now bred for the use of our cavalry, and the grain of the barbarians fills our granaries. Why say more? We have left them solely

7 sola,[1] nos eorum omnia possidemus. volueramus, patres conscripti, Germaniae novum praesidem facere, sed hoc ad pleniora vota distulimus. quod quidem credimus conferre, cum divina providentia nostros uberius secundarit exercitus."

XVI. Post haec Illyricum petiit. priusquam veniret, Raetias sic pacatas reliquit ut illic ne suspicionem 2 quidem ullius terroris relinqueret. in Illyrico Sarmatos ceterasque gentes ita contudit ut prope sine bello 3 cuncta reciperet quae illi diripuerant. tetendit deinde iter per Thracias atque omnes Geticos populos fama rerum territos et antiqui nominis potentia pressos aut in deditionem aut in amicitiam recepit.

4 His gestis orientem petiit atque itinere[2] potentissimo quodam latrone Palfuerio capto et interfecto omnem Isauriam liberavit, populis atque urbibus 5 Romanis legibus restitutis. barbarorum, qui apud Isauros sunt, vel per terrorem vel urbanitatem loca ingressus est. quae cum peragrasset, hoc dixit, "Facilius est ab istis locis latrones arceri quam tolli." 6 veteranis omnia illa quae anguste adeuntur loca privata donavit, addens ut eorum filii ab anno octavo

[1] *sola* Σ; *solo* P. [2] So P, Lessing; *in itinere* Σ, Peter, Hohl.

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[1] Probably in 279. His benefits to this region were commemorated by coins minted at Siscia (mod. Sissek) with the legend *Restit(utor) Illyrici*; see Cohen, vi². p. 304, no. 505.

[2] In Thrace, on both banks of the lower Danube. Probably those tribes who inhabited the northern bank, despite Aurelian's evacuation of the country in their favour (see *Aur.*, xxxix. 7), had crossed over to plunder Roman territory, or perhaps they had been driven over by the Goths dwelling further north.

their soil, and all their goods we now possess. It had been our wish, Conscript Fathers, to appoint a new governor for Germany, but this we have postponed for the completer fulfilment of our prayers. This indeed we believe will come to pass when divine providence shall more richly have prospered our armies."

XVI. After this he set out for Illyricum, but before going thither he left Raetia in so peaceful a state that there remained therein not even any suspicion of fear. In Illyricum[1] he so crushed the Sarmatians and other tribes that almost without any war at all he got back all they had ravaged. He then directed his march through Thrace, and received in either surrender or friendship all the tribes of the Getae,[2] frightened by the repute of his deeds and brought to submission by the power of his ancient fame.

This done, he set out for the East,[3] and while on his march he captured and killed a most powerful brigand, named Palfuerius, and so set free the whole of Isauria and restored the laws of Rome to the tribes and the cities. By fear or favour he entered the places held by the barbarians living among the Isaurians, and when he had gone through them all he remarked: "It is easier far to keep brigands out of these places than to expel them." And so all those places which were difficult of access he gave to his veterans as their own private holdings, attaching thereto the condition that their children, that is, the males only, should be sent

[3] In 280. Zosimus (i. 69-70) tells a romantic story of an Isaurian brigand named Lydius (perhaps the same man as Palfuerius here mentioned), who, after ravaging Pamphylia and Lycia, seized the strongly fortified colony Cremna (in Pisidia) and there resisted the Romans until he was killed by the treachery of one of his men.

decimo, mares dumtaxat, ad militiam mitterentur, ne latrocinare umquam discerent.

XVII. Pacatis denique omnibus Pamphyliae partibus ceterarumque provinciarum, quae sunt Isauriae
2 vicinae, ad orientem iter flexit. Blemmyas etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit qui mirabilem sui visum stupente populo Romano praebuerunt.
3 Copten praeterea et Ptolemaidem urbis ereptas bar-
4 barico servitio Romano reddidit iuri. ex quo tantum profecit ut Parthi legatos ad eum mitterent confitentes timorem pacemque poscentes, quos ille superbius
5 acceptos magis timentes domum remisit. fertur etiam epistula illius repudiatis donis, quae rex miserat, ad Narseum talis fuisse: "Miror te de omnibus quae nostra futura sunt tam pauca misisse. habeto interim omnia illa quibus gaudes. quae si nos habere cupiamus, scimus quemadmodum possidere debeamus."
6 his acceptis litteris Narseus maxime territus, et eo praecipue quod Copten et Ptolemaidem comperit a Blemmyis, qui eas tenuerant, vindicatas caesosque ad internecionem eos qui gentibus fuerant ante terrori.

XVIII. Facta igitur pace cum Persis ad Thracias rediit et centum milia Bastarnarum in solo Romano

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[1] For a similar policy, see *Alex.*, lviii. 4.

[2] From Nubia; see note to *Aur.*, xxxiii. 4. Undaunted by the defeat administered under Aurelian they had broken forth again and had overrun all Upper Egypt. According to Zosimus, i. 71, 1, they were now defeated by Probus' generals; because of this statement it has been questioned whether Probus himself was in Egypt at all.

[3] *i.e.*, the Persians, against whom the present eastern expedition was directed in resumption of the war which had been cut short by the murder of Aurelian; see *Aur.*, xxxv. 4-5.

to the army[1] at the age of eighteen, in order that they never might learn to be brigands.

XVII. Having finally established peace in all parts of Pamphylia and the other provinces adjacent to Isauria, he turned his course to the East. He also subdued the Blemmyae,[2] and the captives taken from them he sent back to Rome and thereby created a wondrous impression upon the amazed Roman people. Besides this, he rescued from servitude to the barbarians the cities of Coptos and Ptolemais and restored them to Roman laws. By this he achieved such fame that the Parthians[3] sent envoys to him, confessing their fear and suing for peace, but these he received with much arrogance and then sent back to their homes in greater fear than before. The letter, moreover, which he wrote to Narseus,[4] rejecting the gifts which the king had sent, is said to have been as follows: "I marvel that you have sent us so few of the riches all of which will shortly be ours. For the time being, keep all those things in which you take such pleasure. If ever we wish to have them, we know how we ought to get them." On the receipt of this letter Narseus was greatly frightened, the more so because he had learned that Coptos and Ptolemais had been set free from the Blemmyae, who had previously held them, and that they, who had once been the terror of nations, had been put to the sword.

XVIII. Having made peace, then, with the Persians,[5] he returned to Thrace, and here he settled one hundred

[4] Clearly a fabrication, for Narses was king of the Persians in 293-302; the king at this time was Bahrâm II.

[5] It is probable that he was ready to patch up a peace because of the revolts of the pretenders in the West; see § 5. He evidently regarded it as a temporary measure, for in 282 he set forth on another war; see c. xx. 1.

2 constituit, qui omnes fidem servarunt. sed cum et ex aliis gentibus plerosque pariter transtulisset, id est ex Gepedis, Greuthungis et Vandalis, illi omnes fidem fregerunt et occupato bellis tyrannicis Probo per totum paene orbem pedibus et navigando vagati sunt nec parum molestiae Romanae gloriae intulerunt.
3 quos quidem ille diversis vicibus variisque victoriis oppressit, paucis domum cum gloria redeuntibus, quod Probi evasissent manus. haec Probus cum barbaris gessit.
4 Sed habuit etiam non leves tyrannicos motus. nam et Saturninum, qui orientis imperium arripuerat, variis proeliorum generibus et nota virtute superavit. quo victo tanta in oriente quies fuit, ut, quemadmodum vulgo loquebantur, mures rebelles nullus audiret.
5 deinde cum Proculus et Bonosus apud Agrippinam in Gallia imperium arripuissent omnesque sibi iam Britannias, Hispanias et bracatae Galliae provincias vindicarent, barbaris semet iuvantibus vicit.
6 Ac ne requiras plura vel de Saturnino vel de Proculo vel de Bonoso, suo eosdem inseram libro,

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[1] North of the mouth of the Danube. Like the Getae, they may have been driven southward by the pressure of the Goths, and now they were admitted to Roman territory.

[2] Both Gothic tribes; see *Claud.*, vi. 2 and note. Nothing is known of any of these settlers, but Zosimus (i. 71, 2) tells of a colony of Franks settled by Probus near the mouth of the Danube, who, as soon as the Emperor had left the region, built ships and, after plundering the coasts of Greece, Sicily and northern Africa, sailed off to their home, near the mouth of the Rhine. The biographer may have generalised this incident.

[3] See *Firm.*, vii.-xi.

[4] See *Firm.*, xii.-xiii.

[5] See *Firm.*, xiv-xv.

thousand Bastarnae[1] on Roman soil, all of whom remained loyal. But when he had likewise brought over many from other tribes, that is, Gepedes, Greuthungi[2] and Vandals, they all broke faith, and when Probus was busied with wars against the pretenders they roved over well nigh the entire world on foot or in ships and did no little damage to the glory of Rome. He crushed them, however, at divers times and by various victories, and only a few returned to their homes, enjoying glory because they had made their escape from the hands of Probus. Such were Probus' exploits among the barbarians.

He also had to cope with revolts of pretenders, and they were serious indeed. For Saturninus,[3] who had seized the rule of the East, he overcame only by battles of various kinds and by his well-known valour. But when Saturninus was crushed, such quiet prevailed in the East that, as the common saying is, not even a rebel mouse was heard. Then Proculus[4] and Bonosus[5] seized the rule at Agrippina in Gaul, and proceeded to claim all of Britain[6] and Spain and the provinces, also, of Farther Gaul,[7] but these men he defeated with the aid of barbarians.

But in order that you may not ask for more information now about either Saturninus, or Proculus, or

[6] The revolt in Britain had no connection with the rising either of Proculus or of Bonosus, but was the act of the governor stationed there. It was quelled by Victorinus, who treacherously killed the revolting governor; see Zonaras, xii. 29.

[7] Literally "trousered," a term derived from *bracae* ("breeches"), the native costume of the northern barbarians; see note to *Alex.*, xl. 11. The name *Gallia Bracata* was often used to designate the three provinces of Farther Gaul, *viz.* Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, and Aquitania, as contrasted with *Gallia Togata*, *i.e.*, Gallia Narbonensis.

pauca de iisdem, ut[1] decet, immo ut poscit necessitas,
7 locuturus. unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes, cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probo servire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo im-
8 perare.[2] Gallis omnibus et Hispanis ac Britannis hinc permisit, ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent. ipse Almam montem in Illyrico circa Sirmium militari manu fossum lecta vite conseruit.

XIX. Dedit Romanis etiam voluptates, et quidem
2 insignes, delatis etiam congiariis. triumphavit de Germanis et Blemmyis, omnium gentium drungos usque ad quinquagenos homines ante triumphum duxit. venationem in Circo amplissimam dedit, ita ut
3 populus cuncta diriperet. genus autem spectaculi fuit tale: arbores validae per milites radicitus vulsae conexis late longeque trabibus adfixae sunt, terra deinde superiecta totusque Circus ad silvae consitus speciem
4 gratia novi viroris effronduit. missi deinde per omnes

[1] *ut* om. in P. [2] *imperare* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] This measure is mentioned also by Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 2 and Eutropius, ix. 17, 2. It does not imply that there had been a general prohibition, but meant the rescinding of an order of Domitian (Suetonius, *Dom.*, vii. 2), which attempted to provide, both for the increase in the production of grain and for the protection of Italian vine-growers, that no new vineyards should be planted in Italy and that half of those in the provinces should be cut down. This order seems never to have been enforced in Asia Minor or southern Gaul or Spain, and even in the Danube provinces vines were planted before the time of Probus. An attempt had been made by Aurelian to promote viticulture in Italy (see *Aur.*, xlviii. 2), but apparently without much success, and the attempt was now extended to the northern provinces, with the result that the prosperity of Gaul, at least, was revived;

Bonosus, I will put them all in a special book, relating a little concerning them, as seems fitting, or rather, as need demands. One fact, indeed, must be known, namely, that all the Germans, when Proculus asked for their aid, preferred to serve Probus rather than rule with Bonosus and Proculus. Hence he granted permission to all the Gauls and the Spaniards and Britons to cultivate vineyards and make wines,[1] and he himself planted chosen vines on Mount Alma[2] near Sirmium in Illyricum, after having had the ground dug up by the hands of the soldiers.

XIX. He also gave the Romans their pleasures, and noted ones, too, and he bestowed largesses also. He celebrated a triumph[3] over the Germans and the Blemmyae, and caused companies from all nations, each of them containing up to fifty men, to be led before his triumphal procession. He gave in the Circus a most magnificent wild-beast hunt, at which all things were to be the spoils of the people. Now the manner of this spectacle was as follows: great trees, torn up with the roots hy the soldiers, were set up on a platform of beams of wide extent, on which earth was then thrown, and in this way the whole Circus, planted to look like a forest, seemed, thanks to this new verdure, to be putting forth leaves. Then through all the entrances were brought in one thousand

see Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Rom. Empire*, pp. 189, 545, 621.

[2] Probably the Fruška-Gora range, north of Mitrovitz, still rich in vineyards.

[3] In 281, according to the coins of his fourth consulship, on which he is represented in a *quadriga* and crowned by a Victory (Cohen, vi.[2], p. 300, no. 465) or similarly on a six-horse chariot with the legend *Gloria Orbis* (*ibid.*, p. 279, no. 269).

aditus struthiones mille, mille cervi, mille apri; iam damae, ibices, oves ferae et cetera herbatica animalia quanta vel ali potuerunt vel inveniri. inmissi deinde
5 populares, rapuit quisque quod voluit. edidit alia die in Amphitheatro una missione centum iubatos leones,
6 qui rugitibus suis tonitrus excitabant. qui omnes e[1] posticis interempti sunt, non magnum praebentes spectaculum, quo occidebantur. neque enim erat bestiarum impetus ille qui esse e caveis egredientibus solet; occisi sunt praeterea multi, qui dirigere nole-
7 bant, sagittis. editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syri; editae centum leaenae et ursi simul trecenti; quarum omnium ferarum magnum magis constat spectaculum fuisse quam gratum.
8 edita praeterea gladiatorum paria trecenta Blemmyis plerisque pugnantibus, qui per triumphum erant ducti, plerisque Germanis et Sarmatis, nonnullis etiam latronibus Isauris.

XX. Quibus peractis bellum Persicum parans, cum per Illyricum iter faceret, a militibus suis per insidias
2 interemptus est. causae occidendi eius haec fuerunt: primum quod numquam militem otiosum esse perpessus est, si quidem multa opera militari manu perfecit, dicens annonam gratuitam militem comedere
3 non debere. his addidit dictum eis grave, si umquam eveniat, salutare rei publicae, brevi milites necessarios
4 non futuros. quid ille conceperat animo qui hoc

[1] *e* ins. by Salm., who explains *posticis*; om. in P.

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[1] 315 had been presented by Pompey and 400 by Julius Caesar; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 53.

ostriches, one thousand stags and one thousand wild-boars, then deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other grass-eating beasts, as many as could be reared or captured. The populace was then let in, and each man seized what he wished. Another day he brought out in the Amphitheatre at a single performance one hundred maned lions,[1] which woke the thunder with their roaring. All of these were slaughtered as they came out of the doors of their dens, and being killed in this way they afforded no great spectacle. For there was none of that rush on the part of the beasts which takes place when they are let loose from cages. Besides, many, unwilling to charge, were despatched with arrows. Then he brought out one hundred leopards from Libya, then one hundred from Syria, then one hundred lionesses and at the same time three hundred bears; all of which beasts, it is clear, made a spectacle more vast than enjoyable. He presented, besides, three hundred pairs of gladiators, among whom fought many of the Blemmyae, who had been led in his triumph, besides many Germans and Sarmatians also and even some Isaurian brigands.

XX. These spectacles finished, he made ready for war with Persia,[2] but while on the march through Illyricum he was treacherously killed by his soldiers. The causes of his murder were these: first of all, he never permitted a soldier to be idle, for he built many works by means of their labour, saying that a soldier should eat no bread that was not earned. To this he added another remark, hard for them, should it ever come true, but beneficial to the commonwealth, namely, that soon there would be no need of soldiers. What had he in his mind when he made

[2] Temporarily abandoned in 280; see c. xviii. 1.

dicebat? nonne omnes barbaras gentes subegerat[1] pedibus totumque[2] mundum fecerat iam Romanum? "Brevi," inquit, "milites necessarios non habebimus." quid est aliud dicere: Romanus iam miles erit nullus? ubique regnabit, omnia possidebit[3] secura res publica. orbis terrarum non arma fabricabitur, non annonam praebebit, boves[4] habebuntur aratro, equus nascetur ad pacem, nulla erunt bella, nulla captivitas, ubique pax, ubique Romanae leges, ubique iudices nostri.

XXI. Longius amore imperatoris optimi progredior quam pedestris sermo desiderat. quare addam illud quod praecipue tanto viro fatalem properavit necessitatem. nam cum Sirmium venisset ac solum patrium effecundari cuperet et dilatari, ad siccandam quandam paludem multa simul milia militum posuit, ingentem parans fossam, qua deiectis in Savum[5] naribus loca Sirmiensibus profutura siccaret. hoc permoti[6] milites confugientem eum in turrem ferratam, quam ipse speculae causa elatissimam exaedificaverat, interemerunt anno imperii sui quinto. postea tamen ingens ei sepulchrum elatis aggeribus omnes pariter milites

[1] *subegerat* Editor (cf. c. xv. 2; xvii. 2); *subierat* P; *subiecerat* Σ, Peter, Hohl. [2] *pedibus totumque* Σ, Peter[1]; *pedibusque totum* P; *penitusque totum* Kellerbauer, Peter[2], Hohl. [3] *possidebit* Salm., Peter; *possidebimus* P, Σ. [4] *boues* Salm.; *uobis* P. [5] *Sauum* Closs, Peter; *saltum* P. [6] so Σ, Petschenig, Hohl; *hac permoti* P; *hac re moti* Salm., Peter.

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[1] The same account of his death is given in Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 4 and Eutropius, ix. 17, 2; on the other hand, Zosimus (i. 71, 4-5) and Zonaras (xii. 29) relate that after the departure of Probus the armies of Raetia and Noricum forced their commander, Carus, to assume the purple. The troops sent by Probus to quell the uprising joined the revolt, and when the remainder of Probus' force learned of this they killed the Emperor. This

this remark? Had he not put down all barbarian nations under his feet and made the whole universe Roman? "Soon," he said, "we shall have no need of soldiers." What else is this than saying: "Soon there will not be a Roman soldier? Everywhere the commonwealth will reign and will rule all in safety. The entire world will forge no arms and will furnish no rations, the ox will be kept for the plough and the horse be bred for peace, there will be no wars and no captivity, in all places peace will reign, in all places the laws of Rome, and in all places our judges."

XXI. But in my love for a most excellent emperor I am proceeding further than a prosaic style requires. Wherefore, I will add only that which, most of all, hastened on for this great man his destined doom. When he had come to Sirmium, desiring to enrich and enlarge his native place, he set many thousand soldiers together to draining a certain marsh, planning a great canal with outlets flowing into the Save, and thus draining a region for the use of the people of Sirmium. At this the soldiers rebelled, and pursuing him as he fled to an iron-clad tower, which he himself had reared to a very great height to serve as a look-out, they slew him there in the fifth year of his reign.[1] Afterwards, however, all the soldiers together built him a mighty tomb on a lofty mound,

version, simpler and free from the laudatory tendencies of the account given in the *vita*, seems more credible; an attempt to absolve Carus from the charge of treachery is made in *Car.*, vi. 1. Probus' death took place after 29 Aug., 282, since there are Alexandrian coins of his eighth year, which began on that day. As he began to rule in the summer of 276, the five-year reign allotted to him here is evidently too short; the period of six years and four months given by Zosimus is more nearly correct.

fecerunt cum titulo huius modi inciso marmori: "Hic Probus imperator et vere probus situs est, victor omnium gentium barbararum, victor etiam tyrannorum."

XXII. Conferenti mihi cum aliis imperatoribus principem Probum omnibus prope Romanis ducibus, qua fortes, qua[1] clementes, qua prudentes, qua mirabiles exstiterunt, intellego hunc virum aut parem fuisse aut, si
2 non repugnat invidia furiosa, meliorem. quinquennio enim imperii sui per totum orbem terrarum tot bella gessit, et quidem per se, ut mirabile sit quemadmodum
3 omnibus occurrerit proeliis. multa manu sua fecit, duces praeclarissimos instituit. nam ex eius disciplina Carus, Diocletianus, Constantius, Asclepiodotus, Hannibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus et ceteri, quos patres nostri mirati sunt et de quibus nonnulli boni principes
4 exstiterunt. conferat nunc, cui placet, viginti Traiani Hadrianique annos, conferat prope totidem Antoninorum. nam quid de Augusto loquar, cuius imperii annis[2] vix potest advivi? malos autem principes taceo. ipsa vox Probi clarissima indicat quid se facere potuisse speraret, qui dixit brevi necessarios milites
XXIII. non futuros. ille vero conscius sui non barbaros
2 timuit, non tyrannos. quae deinde felicitas emicuisset, si sub illo principe milites non fuissent? an-

[1] *qua* om. in P and by Hohl. [2] *anni* P.

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[1] Iulius Asclepiodotus (see also *Aur.*, xliv. 2) and Afranius Hannibalianus were consuls in 292 and prefects of the guard in 296; the former aided Constantius to suppress the revolt of Allectus, and the latter was city-prefect in 297. Herennianus is perhaps Verconnius Herennianus, Diocletian's prefect,

with an inscription carved on marble as follows: "Here lies Probus, the Emperor, a man of probity indeed, the conqueror of all barbarian nations, the conqueror, too, of pretenders."

XXII. As for myself, when I compare Probus as a ruler with other emperors, in whatever way almost all Roman leaders have stood out as courageous, as merciful, as wise, or as admirable, I perceive that he was the equal of any, or indeed, if no insane jealousy stands in the way, better than all. For during his five years' rule he waged so many wars through the whole of earth's circle, all of them, too, unaided, that we can only marvel how he faced all the battles. He did many deeds with his own hand and trained most illustrious generals. For from his training came Carus, Diocletian, Constantius, Asclepiodotus,[1] Hannibalianus, Leonides, Cecropius, Pisonianus, Herennianus, Gaudiosus, Ursinianus, and all the others whom our fathers admired and from whom many good princes arose. Let him now, who will, compare the twenty years of Trajan or Hadrian, let him compare the years of the Antonines, nearly equal in number. For why should I mention Augustus, the years of whose reign all but exceeded the life of a man? Of the evil princes, moreover, I will keep silent. That most famous remark of Probus itself reveals what he hoped to have brought about, for he said that soon there would be no need of soldiers. XXIII. He, truly conscious of his powers, stood in fear of neither barbarian nor pretender. What great bliss would then have shone forth, if under his rule there had ceased to be soldiers! No rations would

mentioned in *Aur.*, xliv. 2. Leonides and those who follow are unknown.

nonam provincialis daret nullus, stipendia de largitionibus nulla erogarentur, aeternos thesauros haberet Romana res publica, nihil expenderetur a principe, nihil a possessore redderetur; aureum profecto saecu-
3 lum promittebat. nulla futura erant castra, nusquam lituus audiendus, arma non erant fabricanda. populus iste militantium, qui nunc bellis civilibus rem publicam vexat, araret, studiis incumberet, erudiretur artibus, navigaret. adde quod nullus occideretur in bello.
4 di boni, quid tantum vos offendit Romana res publica,
5 cui talem principem sustulistis? eant nunc, qui ad civilia bella milites parant, in germanorum necem arment dexteras fratrum, hortentur in patrum vulnera liberos et divinitatem Probo derogent, quam imperatores nostri prudenter et consecrandam vultibus et ornandam templis et[1] celebrandam ludis circensibus iudicarunt.

XXIV. Posteri Probi vel odio vel invidiae timore Romanam rem fugerunt et in Italia circa Veronam ac Benacum et Larium atque in his regionibus larem
2 locaverunt. sane quod praeterire non potui, cum imago Probi in Veronensi sita fulmine icta[2] esset ita

[1] et Σ; om. in P. [2] *iecta* P.

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[1] He was eventually deified; for he is called Divus Probus in the Panegyric addressed to Constantius, c. 18, and in the list of the emperor's birthdays (*C.I.L.*, i.² p. 255).

[2] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3. The *Acta Sanctorum* and the chronicler Nicephorus (i. p. 773) list, the former Probus' son Dometius, the latter his brother Dometius and two nephews, among the Patriarchs of Constantinople; but the correctness of such statements is very doubtful. The prominence in the fourth century of a family which supplied four consuls, Petronius Probianus (cos. 322), Petronius Probinus (cos. 341), Sex. Petronius Probus (cos. 371), and Anicius Probinus (cos. 395),

now be furnished by any provincial, no pay for the troops taken out of the public largesses, the commonwealth of Rome would keep its treasures forever, no payments would be made by the prince, no tax required of the holder of land; it was in very truth a golden age that he promised. There would be no camps, nowhere should we have to hear the blast of the trumpet, nowhere fashion arms. That throng of fighting-men, which now harries the commonwealth with civil wars, would be at the plough, would be busy with study, or learning the arts, or sailing the seas. Add to this, too, that none would be slain in war. O ye gracious gods, what mighty offence in your eyes has the Roman commonwealth committed, that ye should have taken from it so noble a prince? Now away with those who make ready soldiers for civil strife, who arm the hands of brothers to slay their brothers, who call on sons to wound their fathers, and who deny to Probus the divinity [1] which our emperors have wisely deemed should be immortalised by likenesses, honoured by temples, and celebrated by spectacles in the circus!

XXIV. The descendants of Probus,[2] moved either by hate or by fear of jealousy, fled from the region of Rome, and established their household gods in Italy near Verona and the Lakes Benacus and Larius [3] and in all that district. I cannot indeed leave unmentioned that when a portrait of Probus in the region of Verona was struck by lightning in such a fashion that

suggested to Dessau that the present chapter was written in their honour at the end of that century (see Vol. ii. Intro., p. ix.), but as Dannhäuser (*op. cit.*, p. 90) has pointed out, this seems to be refuted by the statement in § 3.

[3] Lakes Garda and Como.

ut eius praetexta colores mutaret, haruspices responderunt huius familiae posteros tantae in senatu claritudinis fore ut omnes summis honoribus fungerentur.
3 sed adhuc neminem vidimus, posteri autem aeternitatem videntur habere non modum.
4 Senatus mortem Probi gravissime accepit, aeque populus. et cum esset nuntiatum Carum imperare, virum bonum quidem sed longe a moribus Probi, Carini causa filii eius, qui semper pessime vixerat, tam senatus
5 quam populus inhorruit. metuebant enim unusquisque tristiorem principem, sed magis improbum metuebant heredem.
6 Haec sunt, quae de Probo cognovimus vel quae
7 digna memoratu aestimavimus. nunc in alio libro, et quidem brevi, de Firmo et Saturnino et Bonoso et
8 Proculo dicemus. non enim dignum fuit ut quadrigae tyrannorum bono principi miscerentur. post deinde si vita suppetit, Carum incipiemus propagare cum liberis.

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[1] Cf. *Tac.*, xv. 1-2. [2] Cf. *Car.*, iii. 8.

the colour of its bordered toga was altered, the soothsayers responded that future generations of his family would rise to such distinction in the senate that they all would hold the highest posts.[1] As yet, however, we have seen none, and moreover it would seem that the "future generations" are unlimited in time and not a definite number.

The senate mourned greatly at the death of Probus, and likewise the people also. But when they were told that Carus was emperor, a good man,[2] to be sure, but far removed from the virtues of Probus, remembering his son Carinus, who had always lived a most evil life, both the senate and people shuddered. For while each one feared a sterner prince, they dreaded still more a wicked successor.

This is all we have learned of Probus, or rather all we have deemed worthy of mention. Now in another book, and that a short one, we will tell of Firmus and Saturninus, Bonosus and Proculus. For it has not seemed suitable to combine a four-span of pretenders with a righteous prince. Then next, if the length of our life suffice, we will proceed to hand down to memory Carus and his sons.

FIRMUS SATURNINUS PROCULUS ET BONOSUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Minusculos tyrannos scio plerosque tacuisse aut breviter praeterisse. nam et Suetonius Tranquillus, emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor, Antonium Vindicemque[1] tacuit, contentus eo quod eos cursim perstrinxerat, et Marius Maximus[2] Avidium Marci temporibus, Albinum et Nigrum Severi non suis pro- 2 priis libris sed alienis innexuit. et de Suetonio non miramur, cui familiare fuit amare brevitatem. quid Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit, num ad istam 3 descriptionem curamque descendit? atque contra Trebellius Pollio ea fuit diligentia, ea cura in edendis bonis malisque principibus ut etiam triginta tyrannos uno breviter libro concluderet, qui Valeriani et Gallieni nec multo superiorum aut inferiorum principum

[1] *que* ins. by Peter; om. in P and by Hohl. [2] So Peter; *Maximus qui* P, def. by Hohl.

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[1] See notes to *Pesc. Nig.*, ix. 2.
[2] See Vol. I., Intro., p. xvii. f.

FIRMUS, SATURNINUS, PROCULUS, AND BONOSUS

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. The minor pretenders, I am well aware, have either been wholly omitted by most of the writers or else passed over briefly. For Suetonius Tranquillus, a most accurate and truthful author, has said nothing of Antonius[1] or Vindex, content with having touched on them in passing, and Marius Maximus[2] treated of Avidius in the time of Marcus and of Albinus and Niger under Severus in no special books of their own but merely joined them to the lives of others. Now in regard to Suetonius we feel no wonder, for he was naturally a lover of brevity. But what of Marius Maximus, the wordiest man of all, who involved himself in pseudo-historical works? Did he descend to such accuracy of detail? But, on the other hand, Trebellius Pollio, in writing of the emperors, both good and bad, showed such industry and care that he also included, though briefly and in a single book, the thirty pretenders of the time of Valerian and Gallienus and the emperors who lived shortly before

cc 2

4 fuere temporibus. quare nobis[1] quoque, etiamsi non tanta[2] non tamen minima fuerit cura, ut, dictis Aureliano, Tacito et Floriano, Probo etiam, magno ac singulari principe, cum dicendi essent Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, de Saturnino, Bonoso et Proculo et Firmo, qui sub Aureliano fuerat, non taceremus.

II. Scis enim, mi Basse, quanta nobis contentio proxime fuerit cum amatore historiarum Marco Fonteio, cum ille diceret Firmum, qui Aureliani temporibus Aegyptum occupaverat, latrunculum fuisse non principem, contra ego mecumque Rufius Celsus et Ceionius Iulianus et Fabius Sossianus contenderent, dicentes illum et purpura usum et percussa moneta Augustum esse vocitatum, cum etiam nummos eius Severus Archontius protulit, de Graecis autem Aegyptiisque libris convicit illum αὐτοκράτορα in 2 edictis suis esse vocatum. et illi quidem adversum nos contendenti haec sola ratio fuit, quod dicebat Aurelianum in edicto suo non scripsisse quod tyrannum occidisset, sed quod latrunculum quendam a re publica removisset; proinde[3] quasi digne tanti princeps nominis debuerit tyrannum appellare hominem tenebrarium, aut non semper latrones vocitaverint magni principes eos quos invadentes purpuras necaverunt. 3 ipse ego in Aureliani vita, priusquam de Firmo cuncta cognoscerem, Firmum non inter purpuratos habui sed

[1] *nobis* Edit. Princ.; *etiam* P; left as corrupt by Peter. [2] *non tanta* ins. by Lenze and Thörnell; om. in P. [3] *proinde* P, Σ, Hohl; *perinde* Peter.

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[1] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, i. 1. [2] See *Aur.*, xxxii., 2-3.
[3] Unknown; see note to *Prob.*, i. 3.
[4] All these are otherwise unknown, and, like the whole con-

or after them.[1] Wherefore we also, even though we may show no such diligence as his, will yet make it by no means our smallest care, after telling of Aurelian, Tacitus and Florian, and Probus, too, that great and peerless prince, and having further to tell of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, to see to it that Saturninus and Bonosus and Proculus and Firmus, who revolted under Aurelian,[2] be not passed over in silence.

II. For you know, my dear Bassus,[3] how great an argument we had but recently with Marcus Fonteius,[4] that lover of history, when he asserted that Firmus, who had seized Egypt in the time of Aurelian, was not an emperor but merely a brigand, while I, and together with me Rufius Celsus and Ceionius Julianus and Fabius Sossianus, argued against him, maintaining that Firmus had both worn the purple and called himself Augustus on the coins that he struck, and Archontius Severus even brought out certain coins of his and proved, moreover, from Greek and Egyptian books that in his edicts he had called himself emperor. Fonteius, on the other hand, in his contention against us, had only the argument that Aurelian wrote in one of his edicts, not that he had slain a pretender, but that he had rid the state of a brigand—just as though a prince of such renown could properly have called so obscure a fellow by the name of pretender, or as though mighty emperors did not always use the term of brigand in speaking of those whom they slew when attempting to seize the purple! I myself, indeed, in my Life of Aurelian,[5] before I learned the whole story of Firmus, thought of him,

versation and that reported in *Aur.*, i. 1-8, probably fictitious. No coins of Firmus are known; see note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxvi. 3.

[5] *Aur.*, xxxii. 2.

quasi quendam latronem; quod idcirco dixi ne quis
4 me oblitum aestimaret mei. sed ne volumini, quod brevissimum promisi, multa conectam, veniamus ad Firmum.

III. Firmo patria Seleucia fuit, tametsi plerique Graecorum alteram tradunt, ignari eo tempore ipso tres fuisse Firmos, quorum unus praefectus Aegypti, alter dux limitis Africani idemque pro consule, tertius iste Zenobiae amicus ac socius, qui Alexandriam Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit, et quem Aurelianus solita virtutum suarum felicitate contrivit.
2 De huius divitiis multa dicuntur. nam et vitreis quadraturis bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis domum instruxisse [1] perhibetur et tantum habuisse de chartis ut publice saepe diceret exercitum se alere
3 posse papyro et glutine. idem et cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. naves
4 quoque ad Indos negotiatorias saepe misit. ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephanti pedum denum, e quibus Aurelianus sellam constituerat facere additis aliis duobus, in qua Iuppiter aureus et gemmatus sederet cum specie praetextae, ponendus in

[1] *instruxisse* Ursinus, Peter; *introduxisse* P, Σ.

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[1] His revolt is attested by Zosimus, i. 61, 1, though without mention of his name. The account given briefly in *Aur.*, xxxii. 2-3 is more correct than this "*vita*," for Firmus seems to have made no claim to the imperial power (cf. c. v. 1), but merely to have attempted (probably in the summer of 272) to restore the supremacy of the Palmyrenes in Alexandria. Aurelian, after destroying Palmyra, marched to Alexandria and promptly quelled the revolt.

not as one who had worn the purple, but only as a sort of brigand; and this I have stated here that no one may think that I am inconsistent. Lest I add too much, however, to a book which I promised to make very short, we shall now proceed to Firmus.

III. Now Firmus[1] was a native of Seleucia,[2] though many of the Greeks write otherwise, not knowing that at that same time there were three men called Firmus, one of them prefect of Egypt, another commander of the African frontier and also proconsul,[3] and the third this friend and ally of Zenobia's, who, incited by the madness of the Egyptians, seized Alexandria and was crushed by Aurelian with the good fortune that was wont to attend his valour.

Concerning the wealth of this last-named Firmus much is related. For example, it is said that he fitted his house with square panes of glass set in with pitch and other such substances and that he owned so many books that he used often to say in public that he could support an army on the paper and glue. He kept up, moreover, the closest relations with the Blemmyae[4] and Saracens, and he often sent merchant-vessels to the Indians also. He even owned, it is said, two elephant-tusks, ten feet in length, to which Aurelian planned to add two more and make of them a throne on which he would place a statue of Jupiter, made of gold and decked with jewels and clad in a sort of bordered

[2] Which of the many cities of this name is meant is not clear.

[3] Neither of these is known; an attempt has been made by P. Meyer in *Hermes*, xxxiii., p. 268 f. to identify the latter with the hero of this *vita*.

[4] See note to *Aur.*, xxxiii. 4 and *Prob.*, xvii. 2 f.

Templo Solis, Appenninis sortibus aditis,[1] quem appellari voluerat Iovem Consulem vel Consulentem. sed eosdem dentes postea Carinus mulieri cuidam dono dedit, quae lectum ex iis fecisse narratur. quam,[2] quia et nunc scitur et sciri apud posteros nihil proderit, taceo. ita donum Indicum, Iovi Optimo Maximo consecratum, per deterrimum principem et ministerium libidinis factum videtur et [3] pretium.

IV. Fuit tamen Firmus statura ingenti, oculis foris eminentibus, capillo crispo, fronte vulnerata, vultu nigriore, reliqua parte corporis candidus sed pilosus atque hispidus, ita ut eum plerique Cyclopem vocarent. carne multa vescebatur, struthionem ad diem comedisse fertur. vini non multum bibit, aquae plurimum. mente firmissimus, nervis robustissimus, ita ut Tritannum vinceret, cuius Varro meminit. nam et incudem superpositam pectori constanter aliis tundentibus pertulit, cum ipse reclinis ac resupinus et curvatus in manus penderet potius quam iaceret. fuit tamen ei contentio cum Aureliani ducibus ad bibendum, si quando eum [4] temptare voluissent. nam quidam Burburus nomine de numero vexillariorum, notissimus potator, cum ad bibendum eundem provocasset, situlas duas plenas mero duxit et toto postea

[1] *aditis* Ellis, Walter, Hohl; *additis* P, Σ; *adductus* Peter.
[2] *quam* ins. by Haupt and Peter; om. in P. [3] *et* om. in P.
[4] *eum* Σ; *eius* P.

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[1] See *Aur.*, xxxv. 3 and note.

[2] Cf. *Alex.*, iv. 6 and *Claud.*, x. 4. No such Jupiter is known.

[3] The name of two famous strong men, father and son, the former a gladiator, the latter a soldier of Pompey's, whose

toga, to be set up in the Temple of the Sun[1]; and, after asking advice of the oracle in the Apennines,[2] he purposed to call him Jupiter the Consul or the Consulting. These tusks, however, were later presented by Carinus to a certain woman, who is said to have made them into a couch; her name, both because it is known now and because future generations will have no profit from knowing it, I will leave unmentioned. So under a most evil prince the gift of the Indians, consecrated to Jupiter Best and Greatest, seems to have become both the instrument and the reward of lust.

IV. But as for Firmus himself, he was of huge size, his eyes very prominent, his hair curly, his brow scarred, his face rather swarthy, while the rest of his body was white, though rough and covered with hair, so that many called him a Cyclops. He would eat great amounts of meat and he even, so it is said, consumed an ostrich in a single day. He drank little wine but very much water. He was most resolute in spirit, and in sinews most strong, so that he surpassed even Tritannus,[3] of whom Varro makes mention. For he would hold out resolutely when an anvil was placed on his chest and men struck it, while he, leaning backward face up, supporting his weight on his hands, seemed to be suspended rather than to be lying down. In drinking, moreover, he would compete with Aurelian's generals whenever they wished to test him. For example, when a certain fellow named Burburus, one of the standard-bearers and a notable drinker, challenged him to a contest in drinking, he drained two buckets full of

muscles and feats of strength are described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist*, vii. 81) on the authority of Varro.

convivio sobrius fuit; et cum ei Burburus diceret, "Quare non faeces bibisti?" respondit ille, "Stulte, terra non bibitur." levia persequimur, cum maiora dicenda sint.

V. Hic ergo contra Aurelianum sumpsit imperium ad defendendas partes quae supererant Zenobiae. sed Aureliano de Thraciis redeunte superatus est. 2 multi dicunt laqueo eum vitam finisse; aliud edictis suis ostendit Aurelianus[1]; namque cum eum vicisset tale edictum Romae proponi iussit:

3 "Amantissimo sui populo Romano Aurelianus Augustus salutem dicit. Pacato undique gentium toto qua late patet orbe terrarum, Firmum etiam latronem Aegyptium, barbaricis motibus aestuantem et feminei propudii reliquias colligentem, ne plurimum loquar, fugavimus, obsedimus, cruciavimus et occidi- 4 mus. nihil est, Romulei Quirites, quod timere possitis. canon Aegypti, qui suspensus per latronem improbum 5 fuerat, integer veniet. sit vobis cum senatu concordia, cum equestri ordine amicitia, cum praetorianis adfectio. ego efficiam ne sit aliqua sollicitudo Romana. 6 vacate ludis, vacate circensibus. nos publicae necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. quare sanctissimi Quirites," et reliqua.

VI. Haec nos de Firmo cognovisse scire debuisti,

[1] om. in P.

wine and yet remained sober throughout the whole banquet; and when Burburus asked, "Why did you not drink up the dregs?" he replied, "You fool, one does not drink earth." But we are narrating mere trifles when we should be telling what is of greater importance.

V. He, then, seized the imperial power in opposition to Aurelian with the purpose of defending the remainder of Zenobia's party. Aurelian, however, returning from Thrace defeated him. Many relate that he put an end to his life by strangling, but Aurelian himself in his proclamations says otherwise; for when he had conquered him he gave orders to issue the following proclamation in Rome:

"From Aurelian Augustus to his most devoted Roman people, greeting. We have established peace everywhere throughout the whole world in its widest extent, and also Firmus, that brigand in Egypt, who rose in revolt with barbarians and gathered together the remaining adherents of a shameless woman—not to speak at too great length—we have routed and seized and tortured and slain. There is nothing now, fellow-citizens, sons of Romulus, which you need fear. The grain-supply from Egypt, which has been interrupted by that evil brigand, will now arrive undiminished. Do you only maintain harmony with the senate, friendship with the equestrian order, and good will toward the praetorian guard. I will see to it that there is no anxiety in Rome. Do you devote your leisure to games and to races in the circus. Let me be concerned with the needs of the state, and do you busy yourselves with your pleasures. Wherefore, most revered fellow-citizens," and so forth.

VI. This is what you should know that we have

2 sed digna memoratu. nam ea quae de illo Aurelius Festivus, libertus Aureliani, singillatim rettulit si vis cognoscere, eundem oportet legas, maxime cum dicat Firmum eundem inter crocodillos, unctum crocodillorum adipibus, natasse et elephantum rexisse et hippopotamo sedisse et sedentem ingentibus struthi-
3 onibus vectum esse et quasi volitasse. sed haec scire quid prodest? cum et Livius et Sallustius taceant
4 res leves de iis quorum vitas [1] arripuerunt. non enim scimus quales mulos Clodius habuerit aut mulas Titus Annius Milo, aut utrum Tusco equo sederit Catilina an Sardo, vel quali in [2] chlamyde Pompeius usus fuerit
5 purpura. quare finem de Firmo faciemus venientes ad Saturninum, qui contra Probum imperium sibimet in orientis partibus vindicavit.

VII. Saturninus oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi
2 principis vel imperii. huic inter ceteros duces, quod vere summus vir esse [3] certe videretur, Aurelianus

[1] *uitas* Cod. Chigianus, Hohl; *uita* P; *uitam* Salm., Peter. [2] *in* ins. by Klein and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter. [3] *uerisset* P; *uir esset* Peter, Hohl.

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[1] Nothing is known of him or of any work by him.

[2] P. Clodius Pulcher, the tribune of 58 B.C., who was instrumental in bringing about the banishment of Cicero. He was killed in 52 B.C. in a brawl with his enemy, T. Annius Milo, who was then defended by Cicero, in the speech *pro Milone*.

[3] Iulius Saturninus Augustus, according to a coin issued by him in Egypt; see *Rev. Numism.*, xiv. (1896), p. 133 f. The account of Zosimus (i. 66 1), which is probably more correct than this *vita*, represents him as a Moor by birth (cf. c. x. 4), and relates that he was a friend of Probus' and was appointed by

found out concerning Firmus, all, however, that is worthy of mention. For as to what Aurelius Festivus,[1] Aurelian's freedman, has reported about him in detail, if you wish to learn it, you should read him yourself, most of all the passage which tells how this same Firmus went swimming among the crocodiles when rubbed with crocodiles' fat, how he drove an elephant and mounted a hippopotamus and rode about sitting upon huge ostriches, so that he seemed to be flying. But what avails it to know all this, especially as both Livy and Sallust are silent in regard to trivial matters concerning those men on whose biographies they have laid hold? For instance, we do not know of what breed were the mules of Clodius[2] or the she-mules of Titus Annius Milo, or whether the horse that Catiline rode was a Tuscan or a Sardinian, or what kind of purple Pompey used for his cloak. Therefore we will make an end of Firmus and pass on to Saturninus, who seized the imperial power in the regions of the East in opposition to Probus.

VII. Saturninus[3] was a Gaul by birth, one of a nation that is ever most restless and always desirous of creating either an emperor or an empire.[4] To this man, above all the other generals, because it seemed certain that he was truly the greatest, Aurelian had

him governor of Syria. He seems to have been declared emperor at Antioch (cf. c. ix. 2-3), and, while he was recognised in Egypt, as the coin bearing his name shows, there is no reason to connect that country with his revolt; his attempt to rule is correctly enough described in *Prob.*, xviii. 4 as *orientis imperium arripuerat*. The order of events in Zosimus places the revolt early in Probus' reign. If it was crushed by Probus in person, this must have been in 280, when Probus was in the East.

[4] Cf. *Tyr. Trig.*, iii. 7.

limitis orientalis ducatum dedit, sapienter praecipiens
3 ne umquam Aegyptum videret. cogitabat enim, quantum videmus, vir prudentissimus Gallorum naturam et verebatur ne, si perturbidam civitatem vidisset, quo eum natura ducebat, eo societate quoque
4 hominum duceretur. sunt enim Aegyptii, ut satis nosti, viri[1] ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi, atque adeo vani, liberi, novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes, versificatores, epigrammatarii,
5 mathematici, haruspices, medici. nam in eis[2] Christiani, Samaritae, et quibus praesentia semper tempora
6 cum enormi libertate displiceant. ac ne quis mihi Aegyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat quod in litteras rettuli, Hadriani epistulam ponam ex libris Phlegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus Aegyptiorum vita detegitur:

VIII. "Hadrianus Augustus Serviano consuli salutem. Aegyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem, pendulam et ad omnia famae
2 momenta volitantem. illic[3] qui Serapem colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episco-
3 pos dicunt. nemo illic archisynagogus Iudaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non
4 mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. ipse ille patriarcha cum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem

[1] *uiri* Σ, editors; *uenti* P; *inuenti* Walter, Hohl. [2] *in eis* Petschenig, Hohl; *eis* P; *sunt* Peter. [3] *illic* Cas; *illa* P; *illi* Σ.

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[1] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 10.
[2] A similar characterisation is given in *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 1-2.
[3] See *Hadr.*, xvi. 1; *Sev.*, xx. 1.

given the command of the Eastern frontier, wisely charging him never to visit Egypt.[1] For, as we see, this far-sighted man was well acquainted with the Gallic character and feared that if Saturninus visited this turbulent land he might be drawn by association with the inhabitants to a course toward which he was by nature inclined. For the Egyptians, as you know well enough, are puffed up, madmen,[2] boastful, doers of injury, and, in fact, liars and without restraint, always craving something new, even in their popular songs, writers of verse, makers of epigrams, astrologers, soothsayers, quacksalvers. Among them, indeed, are Christians and Samaritans and those who are always ill-pleased with the present, though enjoying unbounded liberty. But, lest any Egyptian be angry with me, thinking that what I have set forth in writing is solely my own, I will cite one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon,[3] which fully reveals the character of the Egyptians.

VIII. From Hadrian Augustus to Servianus [4] the consul, greeting. The land of Egypt, the praises of which you have been recounting to me, my dear Servianus, I have found to be wholly light-minded, unstable, and blown about by every breath of rumour. There those who worship Serapis are, in fact, Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are, in fact, devotees of Serapis. There is no chief of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, or an anointer. Even the Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by some to worship Serapis,

[4] Hadrian's brother-in-law (see *Hadr.*, i. 2) whom Hadrian compelled to commit suicide in 136; see *Hadr.*, xv. 8; xxiii. 8.

5 adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, iniuriosissimum; civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. 6 alii vitrum conflant, aliis charta conficitur, omnes certe linyphiones aut [1] cuiuscumque artis esse [2] videntur; et habent podagrosi quod agant, habent praecisi [3] quod agant, habent caeci quod faciant, ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. unus illis deus nummus [4] est. 7 hunc Christiani, hunc Iudaei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes. et utinam melius esset morata civitas, digna profecto quae pro sui fecunditate, quae pro sui 8 magnitudine totius Aegypti teneat principatum. huic ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova sic addidi ut praesenti gratias agerent. denique ut primum inde discessi, et in filium meum Verum multa dixerunt, et de Antinoo quae dixerint comperisse te 9 credo. nihil illis opto, nisi ut suis pullis alantur, quos 10 quemadmodum fecundant, pudet dicere. calices tibi allassontes versicolores transmisi, quos mihi sacerdos templi obtulit, tibi et sorori meae specialiter dedicatos; quos tu velim festis diebus conviviis adhibeas. caveas tamen ne his Africanus noster indulgenter utatur."

IX. Haec ergo cogitans de Aegyptiis Aurelianus

[1] *aut* ins. by Hohl; om. in P; <*alii*> *linifiones, omnes certe* Salm., Peter. [2] *esse* Editor; *et* P; *et uidentur et habentur.* Peter. [3] *praecisi* Hohl; *cesi* P; *cesi . . . habent* del. by Salm. and Peter. [4] *nummus* Vossius, Peter; *nullus* P.

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[1] The three most famous products of Egypt; see *Aur.*, xlv. 1

[2] *i.e.*, L. Aelius Caesar, whom Hadrian adopted in 136; see *Hadr.*, xxiii. 11. As Hadrian was in Alexandria in 130 (see note to *Hadr.*, xiv. 4), and as his sister Paulina, the wife of Servianus (§ 10), died about 130, this letter is clearly not genuine.

by others to worship Christ. They are a folk most seditious, most deceitful, most given to injury; but their city is prosperous, rich, and fruitful, and in it no one is idle. Some are blowers of glass, others makers of paper, all are at least weavers of linen [1] or seem to belong to one craft or another; the lame have their occupations, the eunuchs have theirs, the blind have theirs, and not even those whose hands are crippled are idle. Their only god is money, and this the Christians, the Jews, and, in fact, all nations adore. And would that this city had a better character, for indeed it is worthy by reason of its richness and by reason of its size to hold the chief place in the whole of Egypt. I granted it every favour, I restored to it all its ancient rights and bestowed on it new ones besides, so that the people gave thanks to me while I was present among them. Then, no sooner had I departed thence than they said many things against my son Verus,[2] and what they said about Antinous [3] I believe you have learned. I can only wish for them that they may live on their own chickens, which they breed in a fashion I am ashamed to describe.[4] I am sending you over some cups, changing colour [5] and variegated, presented to me by the priest of a temple and now dedicated particularly to you and my sister. I should like you to use them at banquets on feast-days. Take good care, however, that our dear Africanus [6] does not use them too freely."

IX. So then, holding such an opinion about the

[3] See *Hadr.*, xiv. 5-6 and notes.

[4] According to Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, vi. 2, they hatched the eggs by burying them in dung-heaps.

[5] *i.e.*, ἀλλάσσοντες.

[6] Unknown and probably fictitious.

iusserat ne Saturninus Aegyptum videret, et mente quidem divina. nam ut primum Aegyptii magnam potestatem ad se venisse viderunt, statim clamarunt, 2 "Saturnine Auguste, di te servent!" et ille quidem, quod negari non potest, vir sapiens de Alexandrina 3 civitate mox fugit atque ad Palaestinam rediit. ibi tamen cum cogitare coepisset tutum sibi non esse, si privatus viveret, deposita purpura ex simulacro Veneris cyclade uxoria militibus circumstantibus amictus 4 et adoratus est. avum meum saepe dicentem audivi 5 se interfuisse, cum ille adoraretur. "Flebat" inquit "et dicebat, 'Necessarium, si non adroganter dicam, res publica virum perdidit. ego certe instauravi Gallias, ego a Mauris possessam Africam reddidi, ego Hispanias pacavi. sed quid prodest? omnia haec adfectato semel honore perierunt.'"

X. Et cum eum animarent vel ad vitam vel ad imperium, qui amicuerunt purpuram, in haec verba dis- 2 seruit: "Nescitis, amici, quid mali sit imperare. gladii saeta pendentes cervicibus inminent, hastae undique, undique spicula. ipsi custodes timentur, ipsi comites formidantur. non cibus pro voluptate, non iter pro auctoritate, non bella pro iudicio, non arma 3 pro studio. adde quod omnis aetas in imperio repre-

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[1] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

[2] An allusion to the well-known story of Dionysius of Syracuse and his courtier Damocles; see Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, v. 61-62.

Egyptians Aurelian forbade Saturninus to visit Egypt, showing a wisdom that was truly divine. For as soon as the Egyptians saw that one of high rank had arrived among them, they straightway shouted aloud, "Saturninus Augustus, may the gods keep you!" But he, like a prudent man, as one cannot deny, fled at once from the city of Alexandria and returned to Palestine. There, however, when he had begun to reflect that it would not be safe for him to remain a commoner, he took down a purple robe from a statue of Venus and, with the soldiers standing about, he arrayed himself in a woman's mantle and then received their adoration. I have often heard my grandfather[1] tell that he was present when Saturninus thus received adoration; "He began to weep," he would tell us, "and to say, 'The commonwealth has lost an indispensable man, if I may say so without undue pride. I have certainly restored the provinces of Gaul, I have recovered Africa, seized by the Moors, I have brought peace to the provinces of Spain. But what does it all avail? For all these services go for nothing when once I have claimed imperial honours.'"

X. Then, when those who had clothed him with the purple began to hearten him, some to defend his life and others his power, he delivered the following speech: "My friends, you do not know what an evil thing it is to rule. A sword suspended by a hair hangs over your head,[2] on all sides there are spears, on all sides arrows. You fear your very guards, you dread your very attendants. Your food brings you no pleasure, your journeys no honour, your wars do not meet with approval, your arms call forth no enthusiasm. Remember, moreover, that they find fault

henditur. senex est quispiam? inhabilis videtur: adulescens?[1] additur his et furere.[2] iam quid amabilem omnibus Probum dico? cui cum[3] me aemulum esse cupitis, cui libens cedo et cuius esse dux cupio, in necessitatem mortis me trahitis. habeo solacium
4 mortis: solus perire non potero." Marcus Salvidienus hanc ipsius orationem vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa rhetori operam dederat, Romae frequentaverat pergulas magistrales.[4]

XI. Et ne longius progrediar, dicendum est, quod praecipue ad hunc pertinet, errare quosdam et putare hunc esse Saturninum qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit, cum is longe alius sit et Probo
2 poenam[5] nolente sit occisus. fertur autem Probus et clementes ad eum litteras saepe misisse et veniam esse pollicitum, sed milites, qui cum eo fuerant, non credi-
3 disse. obsessum denique in castro quodam ab iis quos Probus miserat invito Probo esse iugulatum.

4 Longum est frivola quaeque conectere, odiosum dicere quali statura fuerit, quo corpore, quo decore, quid biberit, quid comederit. ab aliis ista dicantur quae prope ad exemplum nihil prosunt. nos ad ea quae sunt dicenda redeamus.

[1] *adulescens* ins. by Peter; om. in P and Σ. [2] So Ellis; *additur his et furore* P; *est furiosus* Peter. [3] *cum* ins. by Salm. [4] *magistrales* Σ Peter; *ministrales* P. [5] *poenam* Editor; *poene* P; *paene* editors.

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[1] Unknown.

[2] See *Tyr. Trig.*, xxiii. and note.

[3] The statement of Probus' reluctance is probably due to the general tendency of the author to praise him in all respects.

with a man of any age as ruler. Is he an old man? He is deemed incapable. Is he young? They go on to say that he is mad as well. Why should I now tell you that Probus is beloved by all? In wishing me to be a rival of his, to whom I would gladly yield place and whose general I desire to be, you do but force me to an unavoidable death. One solace I have for my death: I shall not be able to die alone." This speech, according to Marcus Salvidienus,[1] was really his own, and, in fact, he was not unlettered, for he had even studied under a rhetorician in Africa and attended the schools of the teachers at Rome.

XI. Now, not to proceed at too great length, I must say one thing which particularly concerns this man, namely, that many wrongly believe that he was the Saturninus[2] who seized the imperial power in the time of Gallienus, whereas, in fact, he was altogether a different man, for he was put to death under Probus who did not desire his punishment. It is said, moreover, that Probus often sent him a letter offering him mercy and promised him pardon, but the soldiers who were with him refused to believe it. So at last he was seized in a certain stronghold and stabbed by those whom Probus had sent, though it was not at Probus' desire.[3]

It would be too long to include every trivial thing and tiresome to tell of his stature, his person, and his comeliness, or how much he could eat and drink. Let others describe these things, which have almost no value as an example, and let us return to what we should tell.

[2] According to the version given by Zosimus, Saturninus was killed by his own soldiers.

XII. Proculo patria Albingauni fuere, positi in Alpibus Maritimis. domi nobilis sed maioribus latrocinantibus atque adeo pecore ac servis et iis rebus quas
2 abduxerant satis dives. fertur denique eo tempore quo sumpsit imperium duo milia servorum suorum ar-
3 masse. huic uxor virago, quae illum in hanc praecipitavit dementiam, nomine Samso, quod ei postea
4 inditum est, nam antea Vituriga nominata est. filius Herennianus, quem et ipsum, si quinquennium imples-
5 set, ita enim loquebatur, dicasset imperio. homo, quod negari non potest, . . . idemque fortissimus, ipse quoque latrociniis adsuetus, qui tamen armatam semper egerit vitam. nam et multis legionibus tribunus
6 praefuit et fortia edidit facta. et quoniam minima quaeque iucunda sunt atque habent aliquid gratiae cum leguntur, tacendum non est quod et ipse gloriatur in quadam sua epistula, quam ipsam melius est ponere quam de ea plurimum dicere:
7 "Proculus Maeciano adfini salutem dicit. centum ex Sarmatia virgines cepi, ex his una nocte decem inivi; omnes tamen, quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies quindecim reddidi."
8 Gloriatur, ut vides, rem ineptam et satis libidino-

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[1] His revolt is mentioned also in *Prob.*, xviii. 5; Eutropius, ix. 17, 1; *Epit.*, 37, 2, but no details are given. In all these passages it is said to have taken place at Agrippina (Cologne), whereas in c. xiii. 1 we are told that it was at Lugdunum (Lyons). If the statement in c. xiii. 4 and *Prob.*, xviii. 7 that he attempted to combine forces with the Franks be correct, it may be that he began the revolt in Gaul but was forced to retreat to northern Germany, where he was finally defeated. The date was probably 280; see note to *Prob.*, xviii. 1.

XII. Proculus [1] was a native of Albingauni,[2] situated in the Maritime Alps. He was a nobleman in his native place, but his ancestors had been brigands, and thus he was very rich in cattle and slaves and all that they had carried away. In fact, it is said that at the time when he seized the imperial power he armed two thousand slaves of his own. His wife, who drove him to this act of madness, was a masculine woman called Samso—though this name was given her in her later years, for originally she was called Vituriga. His son was Herennianus, whom also he would have dedicated to the imperial office—for that was his way of speaking—had he but completed his fifth year. The man himself, it cannot be denied, was . . . and at the same time most valiant; though accustomed also to brigandage, he yet lived his whole life in arms, for he commanded many legions as tribune and did courageous deeds. And now, since all the most trivial things are interesting and bring some pleasure when they are read, I must not fail to mention an incident of which he himself boasts in one of his letters, deeming it better to quote the letter itself rather than to speak about it at length.

"From Proculus to his kinsman Maecianus,[3] greeting. I have taken one hundred maidens from Sarmatia. Of these I mated with ten in a single night; all of them, however, I made into women, as far as was in my power, in the space of fifteen days."

He boasts, as you see, of a foolish and a very licentious deed, thinking that he would be held a brave

[2] Mod. Albenga, on the Riviera di Ponente, about 50 m. S.W. of Genoa.

[3] Unknown.

sam atque inter fortes se haberi credit, si criminum densitate concallescat.[1]

XIII. Hic tamen cum etiam post honores militares se[2] improbe, libidinose, tamen fortiter gereret,[3] hortantibus Lugdunensibus, qui et ab Aureliano graviter contusi videbantur et Probum vehementissime pertimescebant, in imperium vocitatus est, ludo paene ac ioco, ut Onesimus dicit, quod quidem apud nullum 2 alium repperisse me scio. nam cum in quodam convivio ad latrunculos luderetur, atque ipse decies imperator exisset, quidam non ignobilis scurra "Ave" inquit "Auguste," adlataque lana purpurea umeris eius vinxit eumque adoravit; timor inde consciorum 3 atque inde iam exercitus temptatio et imperii. non nihilum tamen Gallis profuit. nam Alamannos, qui tunc adhuc Germani dicebantur, non sine gloriae splendore contrivit, numquam aliter quam latroci- 4 nandi pugnans modo. hunc tamen Probus fugatum usque ad ultimas terras et cupientem in Francorum auxilium venire, a quibus originem se trahere ipse dicebat, ipsis prodentibus Francis, quibus familiare est 5 ridendo fidem frangere, vicit et interemit. posteri eius etiam nunc apud Albingaunos agunt, qui ioco

[1] *concallescat* Damsté, Hohl; *coalescat* P, Peter. [2] *cum se* P. [3] *gereret* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *regeret* P.

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[1] Perhaps during his stay in Gaul in 274-275; see *Aur.*, xxxv. 4.

[2] Cited in c. xiv. 4 as the author of a life of Probus, and also in *Car.*, iv. 2; vii. 3; xvi. 1; xvii. 6. He is perhaps to be identified with an "Onasimos" listed by Suidas (*s.v.*) as an *ἱστορικὸς καὶ σοφίστης* and writer of encomia, who lived under Constantine.

[3] A game resembling chess, but apparently with thirty pieces

man if he grew callous through repeated acts of crime.

XIII. And yet this man, who, even after his military honours conducted himself with depravity and lustfulness but, nevertheless, with courage, at the bidding of the people of Lugdunum, who seemed to have been harshly put down by Aurelian[1] and were in the greatest fear of Probus, was called to take the imperial power. This came about through what was almost a game and a jest, as Onesimus[2] tells, though I know that I have not found it in any other writer. For when once at a banquet they were playing a game of "*Brigands*"[3] and Proculus had ten times come out as "*King*," a certain well-known wit cried out, "Hail, Augustus," and bringing in a garment of purple wool he clasped it about Proculus' shoulders and then bowed in adoration. Then fear fell upon all who had had a part in the deed, and so an attempt was then made to gain both the army and the imperial power. He was, nevertheless, of some benefit to the Gauls, for he crushed the Alamanni—who then were still called Germans—and not without illustrious glory, though he never fought save in brigand-fashion. He was forced by Probus, however, to flee to distant lands, and when he attempted to bring aid to the Franks, from whom he said he derived his origin, Probus conquered and slew him; for the Franks themselves betrayed him, whose custom it is to break faith with a laugh. His descendants[4] still live at Albingauni, and they are wont to say in

on each side. It is frequently alluded to by ancient authors, and an elaborate account of it is given in the anonymous poem *Laus Pisonis*, ll. 192-208.

[4] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xiv. 3.

solent dicere sibi non placere esse vel principes vel latrones.

6 Haec digna memoratu de Proculo didicisse me memini. veniamus ad Bonosum, de quo multo minora condidi.

XIV. Bonosus domo Hispaniensi fuit, origine Britannus, Galla tamen matre, ut ipse dicebat, rhetoris filius, ut ab aliis comperi, paedagogi litterarii. parvulus patrem amisit atque a matre fortissima educatus
2 litterarum nihil didicit. militavit primum inter ordinarios, deinde inter equites; duxit ordines, tribunatus egit, dux limitis[1] Raetici fuit, bibit quantum hominum
3 nemo. de hoc Aurelianus saepe dicebat, "Non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat," quem quidem diu in
4 honore habuit causa militiae. nam si quando legati barbarorum undecumque gentium venissent, ipsi propinabantur, ut eos inebriaret atque ab iis per vinum cuncta cognosceret. ipse quantumlibet bibisset, semper securus et sobrius et, ut Onesimus dicit, scriptor
5 vitae Probi, adhuc in vino prudentior. habuit praeterea rem mirabilem, ut quantum bibisset tantum

[1] *militis* P.

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[1] His revolt is mentioned briefly in *Prob.*, xviii. 5; Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 37, 3; *Epit.*, 37, 2; Eutropius, ix. 17, 1, and attested by coins struck by him with the legend *Pax Augusti*; see Cohen, vi². p. 349. All authors agree that it took place at Agrippina (Cologne). The date was probably 280; see note to *Prob.*, xviii. 1. It would appear from § 2 and c. xv. 1 that he had been left in charge of the Rhine-frontier by Probus when after his victories over the Germans he set out for Illyricum and the East in 279; see *Prob.*, xiii. 7-8 and xvi. 1 and notes.

jest that they do not desire to be either princes or brigands.

This is all that I remember having learned about Proculus that is worthy of mention. Let us now pass on to Bonosus, concerning whom I have written much less.

XIV. Bonosus[1] was a Spaniard by birth, but in descent a Briton, though he had a Gallic mother. His father, so he himself used to say, was a rhetorician, but I have learned from others that he was only a teacher of letters. He lost his father when a child, and being reared by his mother, a very brave woman, he learned nothing of literature. He served in the beginning as a legionary centurion,[2] and next in the cavalry; he commanded in the ranks,[3] he held tribuneships, he was general in charge of the Raetian frontier, and he drank as no man had ever drunk. In fact, Aurelian used often to say of him, "He was born, not to live, but to drink," and yet, because of his prowess in war, he long held him in honour. Indeed, whenever the envoys of barbarian nations came from any place, they were plied with wine in order that he might make them drunken, and when they were in wine learn from them all their secrets. But however much he drank himself, he always remained calm and sober, and, as Onesimus,[4] the author of a Life of Probus, says, when in wine he was all the wiser. He possessed, furthermore, a marvellous quality, namely, that he could always discharge all he had drunk, so that neither his

[2] See note to *Cl. Alb.*, xi. 6.
[3] See note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.
[4] See note to c. xiii. 1.

mingeret, neque umquam eius aut pectus aut venter aut vesica gravaretur.

XV. Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Rheno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore ne poenas daret sumpsit imperium, idque diutius tenuit
2 quam merebatur. nam longo gravique certamine a Probo superatus laqueo vitam finivit, cum quidem iocus exstitit, amphoram pendere, non hominem.
3 Filios duos reliquit, quibus ambobus Probus pepercit, uxore quoque eius in honore habita et usque ad
4 mortem salario praestito. fuisse enim dicitur, ut et avus meus dicebat, femina singularis exempli et familiae nobilis, gentis tamen Gothicae; quam illi Aurelianus uxorem idcirco dederat ut per eum a Gothis
5 cuncta cognosceret. erat enim illa virgo regalis. exstant litterae ad legatum Thraciarum scriptae de his nuptiis et donis, quae Aurelianus Bonoso dari nuptiarum causa iussit, quas ego inserui:
6 "Aurelianus Augustus Gallonio Avito salutem. Superioribus litteris scripseram, ut optimates Gothicas apud Perinthum conlocares, decretis salariis, non ut singulae acciperent, sed ut septem simul unum convivium haberent. cum enim divisae accipiunt, et illae
7 parum sumunt et res publica plurimum perdit. nunc tamen, quoniam placuit Bonoso Hunilam dari, dabis ei iuxta brevem infra scriptum omnia quae praecipimus; sumptu etiam publico nuptias celebrabis."

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[1] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3.

[2] Or Heraclea, now Eski Eregli, on the north shore of the Sea of Marmora.

stomach nor his abdomen nor his bladder ever felt any discomfort.

XV. He, then, at the time when the Roman galleys on the Rhine were burned by the Germans, fearing that he might have to suffer punishment, seized the imperial power. This he held longer than he deserved, for he was finally defeated by Probus only after a lengthy and difficult struggle, and he then put an end to his life by the noose, which gave rise to the jest that it was not a man that was being hanged but a wine-jug.

He left two sons, both of whom were spared by Probus, and his wife, too, was treated with honour and given an allowance as long as she lived. She was in fact, as my grandfather also used to declare,[1] a woman of unequalled excellence and also of noble family, though by race a Goth ; for Aurelian had given her to him as wife in order that through his help he might learn all the plans of the Goths, for she was a maiden of royal blood. There is still in existence a letter addressed to the governor of Thrace concerning this marriage and the gifts which Aurelian wished Bonosus to receive on the occasion of his wedding, and this letter I have inserted :

" From Aurelian Augustus to Gallonius Avitus, greeting. In a previous letter I wrote you to establish the Gothic noblewomen at Perinthus,[2] and I assigned them rations, which they were not to receive singly, but seven of them together sharing one meal. For when they receive them singly, they get too little and the state loses too much. Now, however, since it is our wish that Bonosus take Hunila to wife, you will give her all we have ordered in the subjoined list, and you will celebrate the marriage at the expense of the state."

8 Brevis munerum fuit: "Tunicas palliolatas ianthinas subsericas, tunicam auro clavatam subsericam librilem unam, interulas dilores duas, et reliqua quae matronae conveniunt. ipsi dabis aureos Philippeos centum, argentos Antoninianos mille, aeris sestertium decies."
9 Haec me legisse teneo de Bonoso. et potui quidem horum vitam praeterire quos nemo quaerebat, attamen, ne quid fidei deesset, etiam de his quae didiceram inti-
10 manda curavi. supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, nam Diocletianus et qui sequuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt.

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[1] See *Claud.*, xiv. 3 and *Aur.*, ix. 7 and notes.

The list of gifts was as follows: "Violet tunics of part-silk provided with hoods, one tunic of part-silk with a golden stripe, to weigh a pound, two double-striped under-tunics, and all the other things that are befitting a matron. To Bonosus himself you will give one hundred Philips of gold, one thousand silver Antonines, and ten thousand bronze sesterces." [1]

This is what I remember having read about Bonosus. I might, indeed, have omitted the lives of these men, concerning whom no one has ever inquired, but, in order that there may be no lack of accuracy, I have taken care to make known what I have learned about these also. There still remain for me Carus, Carinus and Numerian; for Diocletian and those who came after him must be described in a grander style.

CARUS ET CARINUS ET NUMERIANUS

FLAVII VOPISCI SYRACUSII

I. Fato rem publicam regi eamque nunc ad summum evehi, nunc ad minima retrahi Probi mors satis
2 prodidit. nam cum ducta per tempora variis vel erecta motibus vel adflicta, nunc tempestate aliqua nunc felicitate variata omnia prope passa esset quae patitur in homine uno mortalitas, videbatur post diversitatem malorum iam secura continuata felicitate mansura post Aurelianum vehementem principem Probo ex sententia senatus ac populi[1] leges et gubernacula
3 temperante. sed ruina ingens vel naufragii modo vel incendii accensis fataliter militibus sublato e medio tali principe in eam desperationem votum publicum redegit ut timerent omnes Domitianos, Vitellios et

[1] *senatus ac populo* after *gubernacula* in P.

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[1] On the tendency of the author of this group of biographers to eulogise Probus see note to *Prob.*, i. 3.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN

BY

FLAVIUS VOPISCUS OF SYRACUSE

I. That it is Fate which governs the commonwealth, now exalting it to the heights and again thrusting it down to the depths, was made very clear by the death of Probus. For the state, in its course through the ages, was by turns raised up and dashed down by divers commotions, and, in the changes wrought now by some tempest and again by a time of prosperity, it suffered well nigh all the ills that human life may suffer in the case of a single man; but at last, after a diversity of evils, it seemed about to abide in assured and unbroken felicity, when, after the reign of Aurelian, a vigorous prince, both the laws and the helm of the state were directed by Probus in accordance with the wish of the senate and people.[1] Nevertheless, a mighty disaster, coming like a shipwreck or a conflagration, when the soldiers had been fired with a fated madness and this great prince had been removed from our midst, reduced the hopes of the state to such despair that all feared a Domitian,

4 Nerones. plus enim timetur de incertis moribus principis quam speratur, maxime in ea re publica quae recentibus confossa vulneribus Valeriani captivitatem, Gallieni luxuriam, triginta etiam prope tyrannorum caesa civium[1] membra sibimet vindicantium imperia[2] perpessa maeruerit.

II. Nam si velimus ab ortu urbis repetere quas varietates sit passa Romana res publica, inveniemus nullam magis vel bonis floruisse vel malis laborasse. 2 et, ut a Romulo incipiam, vero patre ac parente rei publicae, quae illius felicitas[3] fuit, qui fundavit, constituit roboravitque rem publicam atque unus omnium 3 conditorum perfectam urbem reliquit! quid deinde Numam loquar, qui frementem bellis et gravidam 4 triumphis civitatem religione munivit? viguit igitur usque ad Tarquinii Superbi tempora nostra res publica, sed passa tempestatem de moribus regiis non sine 5 gravi exitio semet ulta est. adolevit deinde usque ad tempora Gallicani belli, sed quasi quodam mersa naufragio capta praeter arcem urbe plus prope mali sensit 6 quam tumebat bonis.[4] reddidit se deinde in integrum, sed eo usque gravata est Punicis bellis ac terrore Pyrrhi ut mortalitatis mala praecordiorum timore III. sentiret. crevit deinde victa Carthagine trans maria missis imperiis, sed socialibus adfecta discordiis exte-

[1] *ciuium* Editor; *ciuilium* P, editors. [2] *imperia* ins. by Walter; om. in P; *coluuionem* ins. after *tyrannorum* by Richter, foll. by Peter. [3] Here follows in P a misplaced portion, consisting of c. xiii., 1 *Augustum* to c. xv. 5 *fuisse*; see Intro. to Vol. I., p. xxxiii. f. [4] So Editor; *tumebat boni* P; *habuerat boni* Peter; *timebant boni* Hohl (from Σ).

or a Vitellius, or a Nero. For they felt more fear than hope from the ways of a prince yet unknown, especially since the commonwealth, stricken by recent wounds, was still in a state of sorrow from having endured the capture of Valerian, the excesses of Gallienus, and also the power of well nigh thirty pretenders, who could lay claim to naught but the mangled limbs of their fellow-citizens.

II. Now if we should wish, beginning with the origin of the city, to review all the changes that the Roman commonwealth endured, we shall find that no state abounded more in blessings or suffered more from evils. For, to begin with Romulus, the true father and founder of the commonwealth, what felicity was his, who founded, established and strengthened this state, and alone among founders left a completed city! Why should I speak of Numa, the next in order, who by means of religious observances safeguarded a state which resounded with wars and was swollen with triumphs? From then on, therefore, our commonwealth prospered until the time of Tarquinius Superbus, when it endured a tempest arising from the evil ways of the monarch and avenged itself only at the cost of grave disaster. Then it increased in strength until the time of the Gallic war, when it was overwhelmed, as it were, by shipwreck, the city, save only the citadel, being captured, and it suffered evils greater, indeed, than the prosperity with which it was swollen. Again it returned to its former strength, but was brought so low by the Punic Wars and the terror caused by Pyrrhus that in the fear of its heart it came to know all the ills of human life. III. Next, having conquered Carthage and extended its empire over the seas, it

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nuato felicitatis sensu usque ad Augustum bellis civilibus adfecta consenuit. per Augustum deinde reparata,
2 si reparata dici potest libertate deposita. tamen utcumque, etiamsi domi tristis fuit, apud exteras gentes effloruit. passa deinceps tot Nerones per Vespasianum
3 extulit caput. nec omni Titi felicitate laetata, Domitiani vulnerata inmanitate, per Nervam atque Traianum usque ad Marcum solito melior, Commodi vecordia
4 et crudelitate lacerata est. nihil post haec praeter Severi diligentiam usque ad Alexandrum Mamaeae
5 sensit bonum. longum est quae sequuntur universa conectere; uti enim principe Valeriano non potuit et
6 Gallienum per annos quindecim passa est. invidit Claudio longinquitatem imperii amans varietatum et
7 prope[1] semper inimica fortuna iustitiae. sic enim Aurelianus occisus est, sic Tacitus absumptus, sic Probus caesus, ut appareat nihil tam gratum esse fortunae, quam ut ea quae sunt in publicis actibus eventuum
8 varietate mutentur. sed quorsum talibus querelis et temporum casibus detinemur? veniamus ad Carum, medium, ut ita dixerim, virum et inter bonos magis quam inter malos principes conlocandum et longe meliorem, si Carinum non reliquisset heredem.

IV. Cari patria sic ambigue a plerisque proditur, ut prae summa varietate[2] dicere nequeam quae illa vera

[1] So Lenze and Tidner; *prope et semper* P, Hohl; *semper et prope* Peter. [2] So Obrecht foll. by Peter; *praesumptae grauitate* P.

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[1] *i.e.*, the Julio-Claudian emperors.
[2] See *Tac.*, xiii., 5 and note.
[3] M. Aurelius Carus Augustus (282-283).

waxed great, but afflicted by strife with allies it lost all sense of happiness, and crushed by civil wars it wasted away in weakness until the time of Augustus. He then restored it once more, if indeed we may say that it was restored when it gave up its freedom. Nevertheless, in some way or other, though mourning at home, it enjoyed great fame among nations abroad. Next, after enduring so many of the house of Nero,[1] it reared its head again under Vespasian, and though having no joy from all the good fortune of Titus and bleeding from Domitian's brutality, it was happier than had been its wont under Nerva and Trajan and his successors as far as Marcus, but was sorely stricken by the madness and cruelty of Commodus. Thereafter, save for the diligent care of Severus, it knew naught that was good until Alexander, the son of Mamaea. All that ensued thereafter is too long to relate; for it was not permitted to enjoy the rule of Valerian and it endured Gallienus for fifteen years. Then Claudius was begrudged a long-lasting rule by Fortune, which loves a change and is almost always a foe to justice. For in such wise was Aurelian slain and Tacitus carried off by disease[2] and Probus put to death, that it became clear that Fortune takes pleasure in nothing so much as in changing, by means of a varied succession of events, all that pertains to the public business. To what end, however, do we dwell on such lamentations and the misfortunes of the times? Let us, rather, pass on to Carus,[3] a mediocre man, so to speak, but one to be ranked with the good rather than the evil princes, yet a better ruler by far, had he not left Carinus to be his heir.

IV. In regard to Carus' birthplace there is such divergence of statement among the various writers

2 sit. Onesimus enim, qui diligentissime vitam Probi scripsit, Romae illum et natum et eruditum sed 3 Illyricianis parentibus fuisse contendit. sed Fabius Ceryllianus, qui tempora Cari, Carini et Numeriani sollertissime persecutus est, neque Romae sed in Illyrico genitum, neque Pannoniis sed Poenis parenti- 4 bus adserit natum. in ephemeride quadam legisse me [1] memini Carum Mediolanensem fuisse, sed albo 5 curiae [2] Aquileiensis civitatis insertum. ipse se, quod negari non potest, ut epistula eius indicat, quam pro consule ad legatum suum scripsit, cum eum ad bona hortaretur officia, Romanum vult videri.

6 Epistula Cari:

"Marcus Aurelius Carus pro consule Ciliciae Iunio legato suo. maiores nostri, Romani illi principes, in legatis creandis hac usi sunt consuetudine, ut morum suorum specimen per eos ostenderent quibus rem 7 publicam delegabant. ego vero, si ita non esset, aliter non fecissem; nec feci aliter, si [3] te iuvante non fallar. fac igitur, ut maioribus nostris, id est Romanis non discrepemus viris."

8 Vides tota epistula maiores suos Romanos illum V. velle intellegi. indicat et oratio eius ad senatum data istam generis praerogativam. nam cum primum

[1] *me* ins. by Lessing and Hohl; om. in P and by Peter.
[2] *albo curiae* Madvig, Hohl; *auo iuria* P; *auo iuri* Peter.
[3] So Bitschofsky; *feci alit si* P, *Σ*; *specialiter* Peter.

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[1] See note to *Firm.*, xiii. 1.

[2] Unknown.

[3] At Narbona (more correctly Narona), now the ruins of Vid in Dalmatia, near the mouth of the river Naretva, according to *Epit.*, 38, 1, probably the most correct version (see note to *Aur.*, iii. 1).

that by reason of the very great difference among them I am unable to tell what it really was. For Onesimus,[1] who wrote with great diligence a Life of Probus, maintains that, whereas Carus' parents were Illyrians, he himself was both born and educated at Rome. Fabius Ceryllianus,[2] however, who has described with the greatest skill the period of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, declares that he was born, not in Rome, but in Illyricum,[3] and that his parents were not Pannonians but Carthaginians. I myself remember having read in a certain journal[4] that Carus was born at Milan but enrolled in the official list of the council of the city of Aquileia. Carus himself, it cannot be denied, wished to appear a Roman, for this is shown by a letter of his, which he wrote when proconsul to his legate, urging him to a faithful performance of duty.

The letter of Carus:

"From Marcus Aurelius Carus proconsul of Cilicia[5] to Junius his legate. Our forefathers, those great men of Rome, in choosing their legates observed the following principle, namely, to display a sample of their own characters in those to whom they delegated the conduct of public affairs. And even if this were not so, I myself should not do otherwise; and, indeed, I have not done otherwise, if by your aid I shall make no mistake. Wherefore look to it that we may not be found to differ from our forefathers, that is, the men of Rome."

You see that throughout this letter he wishes it to be understood that his forefathers were native Romans. V. A speech of his, moreover, addressed to the senate, affords this same assurance regarding his birth. For

[4] Fictitious, like most of the author's "sources."

[5] There was no such office in his time; see note to *Aur.*, xlii. 2.

imperator esset creatus, sic ad senatorium ordinem
2 scripsit. inter cetera: "Gaudendum est itaque, patres conscripti, quod unus ex vestro ordine, vestri etiam generis, imperator est factus. quare adnitemur ne meliores peregrini quam vestri esse videantur."
3 hoc quoque loco satis clarum est illum voluisse intellegi se esse Romanum, id est Roma oriundum.

4 Hic igitur per civiles et [1] militares gradus, ut tituli statuarum eius indicant, praefectus praetorii a Probo factus tantum sibi apud milites amoris locavit, ut interfecto Probo tanto principe solus dignissimus videretur imperio.

VI. Non me praeteriit suspicatos esse plerosque et eos in fastos rettulisse, Cari factione interemptum Probum, sed neque [2] meritum Probi erga Carum neque Cari mores id credi patiuntur, simul quia Probi mortem et acerrime et constantissime vindicavit.
2 quid autem de eo Probus senserit indicant litterae de eius honoribus ad senatum datae:

"Probus Augustus amantissimo senatui suo salutem dicit." inter cetera: "Felix autem esset nostra res publica, si, qualis Carus est aut plerique vestrum,
3 plures haberem in actibus conlocatos. quare equestrem statuam viro morum veterum, si vobis placeat, decernendam censeo, addito eo ut publico sumptu eidem [3] exaedificetur domus marmoribus a me delatis.

[1] *et* om. in P. [2] *quod* P. [3] So Σ and Cas., foll. by editors; *uel eidem* P.

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[1] None are known to us. [2] See note to *Prob.*, xxi. 3.

when he was first made emperor, he wrote to the senatorial order among other things the following: "And so, Conscript Fathers, you should rejoice that one of your own order and your own race has been created emperor. Wherefore we will do our best that no foreigner shall seem to be a better man than one of yourselves." This passage also makes it sufficiently clear that he wished to be thought a Roman, that is, one born in Rome.

He, then, after rising through the various civil and military grades, as the inscriptions[1] on his statues show, was made prefect of the guard by Probus, and he won such affection among the soldiers that when Probus, that great emperor, was slain, he alone seemed wholly worthy of the imperial power.

VI. I am not unaware that many have suspected and, in fact, have put it into the records that Probus was slain by the treachery of Carus.[2] This, however, neither the kindness of Probus toward Carus nor Carus' own character will permit us to believe, and there is the further reason that he avenged the death of Probus with the utmost severity and steadfastness. Probus' opinion of him, moreover, is shown by a letter written to the senate with regard to the honours conferred on him:

"From Probus Augustus to his most devoted senate, greeting." Among other recommendations: "Happy, indeed, were our commonwealth if I had more men engaged in the public business similar to Carus or, in fact, to most of yourselves. Wherefore I recommend, if it be your pleasure, that an equestrian statue be voted to this man of old-time character, adding the further request that a house be erected for him at the public expense, the marble to be furnished by me.

decet enim nos talis integritatem remunerari viri" et reliqua.

VII. Ac ne minima quaeque conectam et ea quae apud alios poterunt inveniri, ubi primum accepit imperium, consensu omnium militum bellum Persicum, quod Probus parabat, adgressus est, liberis Caesaribus nuncupatis, et ita quidem ut Carinum ad Gallias tuendas cum viris lectissimis destinaret, secum vero Numerianum, adulescentem cum lectissimum
2 tum etiam disertissimum, duceret. et dicitur quidem saepe dixisse se miserum, quod Carinum ad Gallias principem mitteret, neque illa aetas esset Numeriani ut illi Gallicanum, quod maxime constantem prin-
3 cipem quaerit, crederetur imperium. sed haec alias; nam exstant etiam[1] litterae Cari, quibus apud praefectum suum de Carini moribus queratur, ut appareat verum esse quod Onesimus dicit, habuisse in animo Carum ut Carino Caesareanum abrogaret imperium.
4 sed haec, ut diximus, alias in ipsius Carini vita dicenda sunt. nunc ad ordinem revertemur.

VIII. Ingenti apparatu et totis viribus Probi profligato magna ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat,

[1] *etiam* Cas.; *iam* P.

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[1] See *Prob.*, xx. 1.

[2] The titles *Nobilissimus Caesar* and *Princeps Iuventutis* appear on their coins minted before they were entitled Augustus.

[3] Cf. c. xvii. 6.

[4] See c. ix. 4. This war seems to have included a campaign against the Quadi also, for Numerian (as Augustus) issued coins with the legend *Triunfu.* (*sic*) *Quador*(*um*) and a representation of his father and himself in a *quadriga* with an attendant Victory and captives; see Cohen, vi². p. 378, no. 91. It would

For it behooves us to reward the uprightness of so great a man," and so forth.

VII. And so—not to include what is of little importance or what can be found in other writers—as soon as he received the imperial power, by the unanimous wish of all the soldiers he took up the war against the Persians for which Probus had been preparing.[1] He gave to his sons the name of Caesar,[2] planning to despatch Carinus, with some carefully selected men, to govern the provinces of Gaul, and to take along with himself Numerian, a most excellent and eloquent young man. It is said, moreover, that he often declared that he was grieved that he had to send Carinus to Gaul as prince, and that Numerian was not of an age to be entrusted with the Gallic empire, which most of all needed a steadfast ruler. But of this at another time; for there is still in existence a letter of Carus', in which he complains to his prefect about the character of Carinus, so that it seems to be true, as Onesimus says, that Carus intended to take from Carinus the power of a Caesar. But of this, as I have already said, I must tell later on in the Life of Carinus himself.[3] Now we will return to the order of events.

VIII. With a vast array and all the forces of Probus he set out against the Persians after finishing the greater part of the Sarmatian war,[4] in which he had

appear that Carus fought this war on the Danube and then set out for the East without going to Rome. We are told by Zonaras (xii. 30) that he defeated the Persians and then returned to Rome, whence he set out against the Sarmatians but was killed during a campaign against the Huns, or, as some say, on the river Tigris, as the result of a stroke of lightning; but this can hardly be correct, as his reign of one year was not long enough to permit of so much activity.

contra Persas profectus nullo sibi occurrente Mesopotamiam Carus cepit et Ctesiphontem usque pervenit occupatisque Persis domestica seditione imperatoris
2 Persici nomen emeruit. verum cum avidus gloriae, praefecto suo maxime urgente,[1] qui et ipsi et filiis[2] eius quaerebat exitium cupiens imperare, longius progressus esset, ut alii dicunt morbo, ut plures
3 fulmine, interemptus est. negari non potest eo tempore quo periit tantum fuisse subito tonitruum ut multi terrore ipso exanimati esse dicantur. cum igitur aegrotaret atque in tentorio iaceret, ingenti exorta tempestate inmani coruscatione, inmaniore, ut dixi-
4 mus, tonitru exanimatus est. Iulius Calpurnius, qui ad memoriam dictabat, talem ad praefectum urbis super morte Cari epistulam dedit:
5 Inter cetera "Cum," inquit, "Carus, princeps noster vere carus, aegrotaret, tanti turbinis subito exorta tempestas est ut caligarent omnia, neque alterutrum nosceret; coruscationum deinde ac tonitruum in modum fulgurum igniti sideris continuata vibratio omnibus nobis veritatis scientiam sustulit.

[1] *urgente* Eyssenhardt, Peter; *iurgante* P. [2] *filiis* Hohl; *filii* P, Σ; *filio* Peter.

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[1] He captured it, according to all our authorities, and also Seleucia, according to Zonaras, and Coche, according to Eutropius. The importance of his successes—aided by the strife between Bahrâm II., the Persian king, and his brother Hormizd—is shown by the fact that all Mesopotamia was under Roman sway at the accession of Diocletian; see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom. Prov.* (Eng. Trans.), ii. p. 123.

[2] He bears the title of Persicus Maximus in his inscriptions, and on his coins (after deification) those of Persicus and Parthicus.

[3] Aper; see c. xii.

been engaged, and without opposition he conquered Mesopotamia and advanced as far as Ctesiphon[1]; and while the Persians were busied with internal strife he won the name of Conqueror of Persia.[2] But when he advanced still further, desirous himself of glory and urged on most of all by his prefect,[3] who in his wish to rule was seeking the destruction of both Carus and his sons as well, he met his death, according to some, by disease, according to others, through a stroke of lightning.[4] Indeed, it cannot be denied that at the time of his death there suddenly occurred such violent thunder that many, it is said, died of sheer fright. And so, while he was ill and lying in his tent, there came up a mighty storm with terrible lightning and, as I have said, still more terrible thunder, and during this he expired. Julius Calpurnius, who used to dictate for the imperial memoranda,[5] wrote the following letter about Carus' death to the prefect of the city, saying among other things:

"When Carus, our prince for whom we truly care, was lying ill, there suddenly arose a storm of such violence that all things grew black and none could recognize another; then continuous flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, like bolts from a fiery sky, took from us all the power of knowing what truly befell.

[4] This is the story given by all our authorities, including Zonaras, though he gives an alternate version; see note to § 1. The rationalized version that he died of disease occurs only in this *vita*. His death seems to have taken place not much later than 29 August, 283, as there are no Alexandrian coins beyond his first year; see J. Vogt, *Die Alexandr. Münzen*, i. p. 220 f. This would agree with the rule of ten months and five days assigned him by the "Chronographer of 354."

[5] See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note. Julius Calpurnius is otherwise unknown and, like the letter, probably fictitious.

6 subito enim conclamatum est imperatorem mortuum, et post illud praecipue tonitruum quod cuncta ter-
7 ruerat.[1] his accessit quod cubicularii dolentes principis mortem incenderunt tentorium. unde unde fuit,[2] fama emersit fulmine interemptum eum quem, quantum scire possumus, aegritudine constat absumptum."

IX. Hanc ego epistulam idcirco indidi quod plerique dicunt vim fati quandam esse, ut Romanus princeps Ctesiphontem transire non possit, ideoque Carum fulmine absumptum quod eos fines transgredi cuperet
2 qui fataliter constituti sunt. sed sibi habeat artes
3 suas timiditas, calcanda virtutibus. licet plane ac licebit, ut[3] per sacratissimum Caesarem Maximianum constitit, Persas vincere atque ultra eos progredi, et futurum reor, si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor.

4 Bonum principem Carum fuisse cum multa indicant tum illud etiam, quod statim ut[3] est adeptus imperium, Sarmatas adeo morte Probi feroces ut invasuros se non solum Illyricum sed Thracias quoque Italiamque minarentur, ita scienter bella partiendo[4] contudit, ut paucissimis diebus Pannonias securitate donaverit occisis Sarmatarum sedecim milibus, captis diversi sexus viginti milibus.

[1] *quod . . . terruerat* Purser, Hohl; *quo . . . terruerat* P; *quo . . . territi erant* Peter. [2] *unde unde fuit* Purser; *unde fuit* P; *unde subito* Peter, Hohl. [3] *ut* Σ, foll. by Peter; om. in P. [4] So Madvig, foll. by Hohl; *sic inter bella pariendi* P.

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[1] He was warned by an oracle according to Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 38, 4.

For suddenly, after an especially violent peal which had terrified all, it was shouted out that the emperor was dead. It came to pass, in addition, that the chamberlains, grieving for the death of their prince, fired his tent; and the rumour arose, whatever its source, that he had been killed by the lightning, whereas, as far as we can tell, it seems sure that he died of his illness."

IX. This letter I have inserted for the reason that many declare that there is a certain decree of Fate that no Roman emperor may advance beyond Ctesiphon, and that Carus was struck by the lightning because he desired to pass beyond the bounds which Fate has set up.[1] But let cowardice, on which courage should set its heel, keep its devices for itself. For clearly it is granted to us and will always be granted, as our most venerated Caesar Maximian has shown,[2] to conquer the Persians and advance beyond them, and methinks this will surely come to pass if only our men fail not to live up to the promised favour of Heaven.

That Carus was a good emperor is evident from many of his deeds but especially from this, that as soon as he received the imperial power he crushed the Sarmatians, who were so emboldened by Probus' death that they threatened to invade not only Illyricum but Thrace and Italy as well, and he showed such skill in breaking up the war that in a very few days he made the provinces of Pannonia free from all fear, having killed sixteen thousand Sarmatians and captured twenty thousand of both sexes.

[2] An allusion to the successes of Galerius Maximianus against Narses, the Persian king, in 296-297.

X. Haec de Caro satis esse credo. veniamus ad Numerianum. huius et iunctior patri et admirabilior per socerum suum facta videtur historia. et quamvis Carinus maior aetate fuerit, prior etiam Caesar quam hic[1] sit nuncupatus, tamen necesse est ut prius de Numeriano loquamur, qui patris secutus est mortem, post de Carino, quem vir rei publicae necessarius Augustus Diocletianus habitis conflictibus interemit.

XI. Numerianus, Cari filius, moratus egregie et vere dignus imperio, eloquentia etiam praepollens, adeo ut puer publice declamaverit feranturque illius scripta nobilia, declamationi tamen magis quam Tulliano ad-
2 commodiora stilo. versu autem talis fuisse praedicatur ut omnes poetas sui temporis vicerit. nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit, qui Ἁλιευτικά, Κυνηγετικὰ et Ναυτικὰ scripsit quique in[2] omnibus coloniis inlustratus emicuit, et Aurelium Apollinarem iamborum scriptorem, qui patris eius gesta in litteras rettulit, iisdem quae recitaverat editis veluti radio
3 solis obtexit. huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae ut illi statua non quasi

[1] *quam hic* Editor; *quae* P; *quam Numerianus* Peter², Hohl.
[2] *quique* P corr., Hohl; *quinque* P¹; *inque* Peter.

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[1] Coins with the legends *Divo Caro* and *Consecratio* show that he was deified; see Cohen, vi². pp. 352-353, nos. 14-24.

[2] M. Aurelius Numerius Numerianus Augustus (283-284). He seems not to have borne the title of Augustus until after Carus' death, when he and Carinus held it conjointly; see Cohen, vi². p. 404.

[3] The author of four Eclogues written in the manner of Vergil. Of the poems cited here we have only 325 lines of his

X. This I believe to be enough about Carus[1]; let us now pass on to Numerian. His history seems to be more closely connected with that of his father and to have become more noteworthy because of his father-in-law; and although Carinus was older than he and received the title of Caesar before him, it is necessary, nevertheless, for us to tell first of Numerian, whose death followed that of his father, and afterwards of Carinus, whom Diocletian Augustus, a man indispensable to the state, met in battle and put to death.

XI. Numerian,[2] the son of Carus, was of excellent character and truly worthy to rule; he was notable, moreover, for his eloquence, so much so, in fact, that even as a boy he declaimed in public, and his writings came to be famous, though more suitable for declamation than in keeping with Cicero's style. In verse, furthermore, he is said to have had such skill that he surpassed all the poets of his time. In fact, he competed with Olympius Nemesianus,[3] who wrote *On Fishing*, *On Hunting*, and *On Seamanship*, and shone with conspicuous lustre in all the colonial towns; and as for Aurelius Apollinaris,[4] the writer of iambics, who had composed an account of his father's deeds, Numerian, when he published what he had recited, cast him into the shade like a ray of the sun. The speech, moreover, which he sent to the senate is said to have been so eloquent that a statue was voted him not as a Caesar but as a rhetorician, to be set up in

Cynegetica, composed after the death of Carus but before that of either of his sons, whose deeds he promises to recount (see l. 63 f.).

[4] Unknown.

Caesari sed quasi rhetori decerneretur, ponenda in Bibliotheca Ulpia, cui subscriptum est: "Numeriano Caesari, oratori temporibus suis potentissimo."

XII. Hic patri comes fuit bello Persico. quo mortuo, cum oculos dolere coepisset, quod illud aegritudinis genus nimia utpote vigilia[1] confecto familiarissimum fuit, ac lectica portaretur, factione Apri soceri sui, qui invadere conabatur imperium, 2 occisus est. sed cum per plurimos dies de imperatoris salute quaereretur a milite, contionareturque Aper idcirco illum videri non posse, quod oculos invalidos a vento ac sole subtraheret, foetore tamen cadaveris res esset prodita, omnes invaserunt Aprum, cuius factio latere non potuit, eumque ante signa et principia protraxere. tunc habita est ingens contio, XIII. factum etiam tribunal. et cum quaereretur quis vindex Numeriani iustissimus fieret, quis daretur rei publicae bonus princeps, Diocletianum omnes divino consensu, cui multa iam signa facta dicebantur imperii, Augustum[2] appellaverunt, domesticos tunc regentem, virum insignem, callidum, amantem rei publicae, amantem suorum et ad omnia quae tempus quaesiverat

[1] *uigilia* added in P corr. [2] In P the portion of the *vita* which begins with *Augustum* and ends with *fuisse* in c. xv. 5 is transposed and inserted in c. ii. 2; in the Σ codices it is in its proper place.

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[1] See note to *Aur.*, i. 7.

[2] He was defeated by the Persians, according to Zonaras, xii. 30. The biographer omits the account of his homeward march across Asia Minor, in the course of which he was killed. His death seems to have been discovered at the Bosphorus; as there are Alexandrian coins of his third year, it could not have taken

the Ulpian Library[1] with the following inscription: "To Numerian Caesar, the most powerful orator of his time."

XII. He accompanied his father in the Persian war, and after his father's death, when he had begun to suffer from a disease of the eyes—for that kind of ailment is most frequent with those exhausted, as he was, by too much loss of sleep—and was being carried in a litter, he was slain[2] by the treachery of his father-in-law Aper, who was attempting to seize the rule. But the soldiers continued for several days to ask after the emperor's health, and Aper kept haranguing them, saying that he could not appear before them for the reason that he must protect his weakened eyes from the wind and the sun, but at last the stench of his body revealed the facts. Then all fell upon Aper, whose treachery could no longer be hidden, and they dragged him before the standards in front of the general's tent. Then a huge assembly was held and a tribunal, too, was constructed. XIII. And when the question was asked who would be the most lawful avenger of Numerian and who could be given to the commonwealth as a good emperor, then all, with a heaven-sent unanimity, conferred the title of Augustus on Diocletian,[3] who, it was said, had already received many omens of future rule. He was at this time in command of the household-troops, an outstanding man and wise, devoted to the commonwealth, devoted to his kindred, duly prepared to face whatever the

place until after 29 August, 284. He was deified, evidently by order of Carinus; for there are coins of his with the legends *Divo Numeriano* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, vi². p. 369, nos. 10-12.

[3] C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus (284-305).

temperatum, consilii semper alti, nonnumquam tamen effrontis[1] sed prudentia et nimia pervicacia motus
2 inquieti pectoris comprimentis. hic cum tribunal conscendisset atque Augustus esset appellatus, et quaereretur quemadmodum Numerianus esset occisus, educto gladio Aprum praefectum praetorii ostentans percussit, addens verbis suis, "Hic est auctor necis Numeriani." sic Aper foeda vita[2] et deformibus con-
3 siliis agens dignum moribus suis exitum dedit. avus meus rettulit interfuisse contioni, cum Diocletiani manu esset Aper occisus; dixisse autem dicebat Diocletianum, cum Aprum percussisset: "Gloriare, Aper,
4 'Aeneae magni dextra cadis.'" quod ego miror de homine militari, quamvis plurimos plane sciam[3] militares vel Graece vel Latine vel comicorum usurpare
5 dicta vel talium poetarum. ipsi denique comici plerumque sic milites inducunt ut eos faciant vetera dicta usurpare. nam et "Lepus tute es, pulpamentum quaeris?" Livii Andronici dictum est, multa aliaque[4] Plautus Caeciliusque posuerunt.

XIV. Curiosum non puto neque satis vulgare fabellam de Diocletiano Augusto ponere hoc convenientem loco, quae illi data est ad omen imperii. avus meus

[1] *effrontis* editors; *frontis* P; *efrontis* Σ. [2] *foeda uita* Eyssenhardt, Hohl; *foedauit* P; *foeditate* Peter. [3] *plane sciam* Paucker, Peter[2]; *plus quam* P, Σ. [4] *aliaque* Peter[2]; *alia quae* P.

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[1] See note to *Tyr. Trig.*, xxv. 3. [2] *Aeneid*, x. 830.

[3] The quotation is from Terence, *Eunuchus*, 426, but as it is described in the context as a *vetus dictum*, it may well have come from a comedy of Livius Andronicus. It is evidently an adaptation of the saying recorded by Diogenianus (in

occasion demanded, forming plans that were always deep though sometimes over-bold, and one who could by prudence and exceeding firmness hold in check the impulses of a restless spirit. This man, then, having ascended the tribunal was hailed as Augustus, and when someone asked how Numerian had been slain, he drew his sword and pointing to Aper, the prefect of the guard, he drove it through him, saying as he did so, "It is he who contrived Numerian's death." So Aper, a man who lived an evil life and in accordance with vicious counsels, met with the end that his ways deserved. My grandfather used to relate[1] that he was present at this assembly when Aper was slain by the hand of Diocletian; and he used to say that Diocletian, after slaying him, shouted, "Well may you boast, Aper, 'Tis by the hand of the mighty Aeneas you perish.'"[2] I do, indeed, wonder at this in a military man, although I know perfectly well that very many soldiers use sayings in both Greek and Latin taken from the writers of comedy and other such poets. In fact, the comic poets themselves frequently introduce soldiers in such a way as to make them use familiar sayings; for "You are a hare yourself and yet are you looking for game?" is a saying which is taken from Livius Andronicus,[3] and many others were given by Plautus and Caecilius.

XIV. I do not consider it too painstaking or yet too much in the ordinary manner to insert a story about Diocletian Augustus that seems not out of place here—an incident which he regarded as an omen of

Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum), iv. 12: Δασύπους κρεῶν ἐπιθυμεῖ· ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ἄλλων ἐπιζητούντων ἃ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν.

2 mihi rettulit ab ipso Diocletiano compertum. "Cum," inquit, "Diocletianus apud Tungros in Gallia in quadam caupona moraretur, in minoribus adhuc locis militans, et cum Druiade quadam muliere rationem[1] convictus sui cottidiani faceret, atque illa diceret, 'Diocletiane, nimium avarus, nimium parcus es,' ioco non serio Diocletianus respondisse fertur, 'Tunc ero
3 largus, cum fuero imperator.' post quod verbum Druias dixisse fertur, 'Diocletiane, iocari noli, nam
XV. eris imperator cum Aprum occideris.'" semper in animo Diocletianus habuit imperii cupiditatem, idque Maximiano conscio atque avo meo, cui hoc dictum a Druiade ipse rettulerat. denique, ut erat altus, risit
2 et tacuit. apros tamen in venatibus, ubi fuit facultas,
3 manu sua semper occidit. denique cum Aurelianus imperium accepisset, cum Probus, cum Tacitus, cum ipse Carus, Diocletianus dixit, "Ego semper apros
4 occido, sed alter utitur pulpamento." iam illud notum est atque vulgatum, quod, cum occidisset Aprum praefectum praetorii, dixisse fertur, "Tandem
5 occidi Aprum fatalem." ipsum Diocletianum idem avus meus dixisse dicebat nullam aliam sibi causam occidendi manu sua fuisse[2] nisi ut impleret Druiadis
6 dictum et suum firmaret imperium. non enim tam crudelem se innotescere cuperet, primis maxime diebus imperii, nisi illum necessitas ad hanc atrocitatem occisionis adtraheret.

[1] *curationem* P. [2] With *fuisse* ends the portion of the *vita* transposed in P to c. ii. 2.

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[1] Around mod. Tongres in eastern Belgium.
[2] For prophecies by Druid women see *Aur.*, xliv. 4 and note.

his future rule. This story my grandfather related to me, having heard it from Diocletian himself. "When Diocletian," he said, "while still serving in a minor post, was stopping at a certain tavern in the land of the Tungri[1] in Gaul, and was making up his daily reckoning with a woman, who was a Druidess, she said to him, 'Diocletian, you are far too greedy and far too stingy,' to which Diocletian replied, it is said, not in earnest but only in jest, 'I shall be generous enough when I become emperor.' At this the Druidess said,[2] so he related, 'Do not jest, Diocletian, for you will become emperor when you have slain a Boar (*Aper*).'" XV. Now Diocletian always had in his mind a desire to rule, as Maximian[3] knew and my grandfather also, to whom he himself told these words of the Druidess. Then, however, reticent, as was his wont, he laughed and said nothing. Nevertheless, in his hunting, whenever there was opportunity, he always killed the boars with his very own hand. In fact, when Aurelian received the imperial power, then Probus, then Tacitus, and then Carus himself, Diocletian remarked, "I am always killing boars, but the other man enjoys the meat." It is now well known and a common story that when he had killed Aper, the prefect of the guard, he declared, it is said, "At last I have killed my fated Boar." My grandfather also used to say that Diocletian himself declared that he had no other reason for killing him with his own hand than to fulfil the Druidess' prophecy and to ensure his own rule. For he would not have wished to become known for such cruelty, especially in the first few days of his power, if Fate had not impelled him to this brutal act of murder.

[3] *i.e.*, Diocletian's co-ruler.

7 Dictum est de Caro, dictum etiam de Numeriano,
XVI. superest nobis Carinus, homo omnium contaminatissimus, adulter, frequens corruptor iuventutis (pudet dicere quod in litteras Onesimus rettulit), ipse quoque
2 male usus genio sexus sui. hic cum Caesar decretis sibi Galliis atque Italia, Illyrico, Hispaniis ac Britanniis et Africa relictus a patre Caesareanum teneret imperium, sed ea lege ut omnia faceret quae Augusti faciunt, enormibus se vitiis et ingenti foeditate macu-
3 lavit, amicos optimos quosque relegavit, pessimum quemque elegit aut tenuit, praefectum urbi unum ex cancellariis suis fecit, quo foedius nec cogitari potuit
4 aliquando nec dici. praefectum praetorii quem habe-
5 bat occidit; in eius locum Matronianum, veterem conciliatorem, fecit, unum ex suis[1] notariis, quem stuprorum et libidinum conscium semper atque
6 adiutorem habuerat. invito patre consul processit. superbas ad senatum litteras dedit. vulgo urbis Romae, quasi populo Romano, bona senatus promisit.

[1] *suis* suggested by Peter; *his* P, Hohl.

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[1] M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus (283-285). His debauchery and cruelty are emphasised by all the sources, but this judgement may be due, at least in part, to the desire to flatter the dynasty which succeeded him; cf. note to *Gall.*, i. 1.

[2] He held the title officially during Carus' lifetime, for it appears in their inscriptions and on coins issued under their joint names; see Cohen, vi², p. 364 f., nos. 2 and 5-11. The division of the empire between the two seems similar to that between Valerian and Gallienus, and it probably was not without influence on the subsequent similar partition of powers by Diocletian and Maximian.

[3] The title of an official of considerable importance at the

We have written of Carus, we have written, too, of Numerian, and now there still remains Carinus.[1] XVI. He was the most polluted of men, an adulterer and a constant corrupter of youth (I am ashamed to relate what Onesimus has put into writing), and he even made evil use of the enjoyment of his own sex. He was left by his father as Caesar in Gaul and Italy and in Illyricum, Spain, Britain, and Africa, all of which had been voted to him, and he exercised there a Caesar's powers, but with the permission to perform all the duties of an Augustus.[2] Then he defiled himself by unwonted vices and inordinate depravity, he set aside all the best among his friends and retained or picked out all the vilest, and he appointed as city-prefect one of his doorkeepers,[3] a baser act than which no one can conceive or relate. He slew the prefect of the guard whom he found in office and put in his place Matronianus, one of his clerks and an old procurer, whom he had always kept with him as accomplice and assistant in debaucheries and lusts. He appeared in public as consul contrary to his father's wish.[4] He wrote arrogant letters to the senate, and he even promised the senate's property to the mob of the city of Rome, as though it, forsooth, were the Roman people. By marrying and divorcing

Byzantine court. The fact that there is no mention of an imperial cancellarius prior to the fifth century has been used by Seeck as an argument for his theory that the *Hist. Aug.* is the work of a fifth-century "forger"; see Vol. ii. Intro., p. x. The point of the present passage, however, seems to lie in the *low* position of the cancellarius, *i.e.*, as actually a doorkeeper.

[4] Since he was *consul ordinarius* conjointly with Carus in 283, this statement is hardly credible.

7 uxores ducendo ac reiciendo novem duxit pulsis plerisque praegnantibus. mimis, meretricibus, pantomimis, cantoribus atque lenonibus Palatium replevit.
8 fastidium subscribendi tantum habuit ut impurum quendam, cum quo semper meridie iocabatur, ad subscribendum poneret, quem obiurgabat plerumque
XVII. quod bene suam imitaretur manum. habuit gemmas in calceis, nisi gemmata fibula usus non est, balteo etiam saepe gemmato.[1] regem denique illum Illyrici
2 plerique vocitarunt. praefectis numquam, numquam[2] consulibus obviam processit. hominibus improbis plurimum detulit eosque ad convivium semper vocavit.
3 centum libras avium, centum piscium, mille diversae carnis in convivio suo frequenter exhibuit. vini plurimum effudit. inter poma et melones natavit. rosis
4 Mediolanensibus et triclinia et cubicula stravit. balneis ita frigidis usus est, ut solent esse cellae supposi-
5 toriae, frigidariis semper nivalibus. cum hiemis tempore ad quendam locum venisset, in quo fontana esset pertepida, ut adsolet per hiemem naturaliter, eaque in piscina usus esset, dixisse balneatoribus fertur, "Aquam mihi muliebrem praeparastis."[3] atque hoc
6 eius clarissimum dictum effertur. audiebat pater eius quae ille faceret, et clamabat, "Non est meus."

[1] So Petschenig, Hohl; *balteum . . . gemmatum* P, Peter. [2] *numquam* ins. by Gruter; om. in P. [3] *praeparastis* Petschenig, Hohl; *praeparatis* P, Σ, Peter.

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[1] Only one is known, Magnia Urbica Augusta, whose likeness appears on Carinus' coins as well as on her own; see Cohen vi². p. 405-408.

he took nine wives in all,[1] and he put away some even while they were pregnant. He filled the Palace with actors and harlots, pantomimists, singers and pimps. He had such an aversion for the signing of state-papers that he appointed for signing them a certain filthy fellow, with whom he used always to jest at midday, and then he reviled him because he could imitate his writing so well. XVII. He wore jewels on his shoes,[2] used only a jewelled clasp and often a jewelled belt also. In fact, in Illyricum most people hailed him as king. He would never come forward to meet the prefects or consuls. He granted favours most of all to the base, and always invited them to banquets. At one of his banquets he often served one hundred pounds of birds, one hundred of fish, and one thousand of meat of different kinds, and he lavished on his guests vast quantities of wine. He swam about among apples and melons and strewed his banqueting-halls and bedrooms with roses from Milan. The baths which he used were as cold as the air of rooms that are under the ground, and his plunge-baths were always cooled by means of snow. Once, when he came in the winter to a certain place in which the spring-water was very tepid—its wonted natural temperature during the winter—and he had bathed in it in the pool, he shouted to the bath-attendants, it is said. "This is water for a woman that you have given me"; and this is reported as his most famous saying. When his father heard of all that he did, he exclaimed, "He is no son of mine," and at last he determined to appoint

[2] Also told to the discredit of Elagabalus, as it was to the credit of Severus Alexander that he removed them; see *Heliog.*, xxiii. 4; *Alex.*, iv. 2.

statuerat denique Constantium, qui postea Caesar est factus, tunc autem praesidatum Dalmatiae administrabat, in locum eius subrogare, quod nemo tunc vir melior videbatur, illum vero, ut Onesimus dicit,
7 occidere. longum est si de eius luxuria plura velim dicere. quicumque ostiatim cupit noscere, legat etiam Fulvium Asprianum usque ad taedium gestorum eius universa dicentem.

XVIII. Hic ubi patrem fulmine absumptum, fratrem a socero interemptum, Diocletianum Augustum appellatum comperit, maiora vitia et scelera edidit, quasi iam liber ac[1] frenis domesticae pietatis suorum
2 mortibus[2] absolutus. nec ei tamen defuit ad vindicandum sibimet imperium vigor mentis. nam contra Diocletianum multis proeliis conflixit, sed ultima pugna apud Margum commissa victus occubuit.

3 Hic trium principum fuit finis, Cari, Numeriani et Carini. post quos Diocletianum et Maximianum principes di[3] dederunt, iungentes talibus viris Galerium atque Constantium, quorum alter natus est, qui

[1] *ac* Lenze ; *a* P, Peter, Hohl. [2] *mortibus* Cas. ; *moribus* P, Σ. [3] *di* ins. by Egnatius ; om. in P and Σ.

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[1] *i e.*, Constantius I. (Chlorus). There seems to be no reason to believe this statement.

[2] Otherwise unknown.

[3] The *vita* omits all mention of his campaigns against the Germans and in Britain, as the result of which he assumed the cognomina Germanicus Maximus and Britannicus Maximus.

[4] After being called from Rome by the news of Diocletian's assumption of the power he overthrew near Verona a usurper named M. Aurelianus Julianus (so his coins, Cohen, vi². pp. 410-411 ; Sabinus Julianus according to *Epit.*, 38, 6 and Zosimus, i. 73).

Constantius [1]—afterwards made Caesar but at that time serving as governor of Dalmatia—in the place of Carinus, for the reason that no one even then seemed to be better, and he even planned, as Onesimus relates, to put Carinus to death. It would be too long to tell more, even if I should desire to do so, about his excesses. If anyone wishes to learn all in detail, he should read Fulvius Asprianus [2] also, who tells the whole tale of his deeds even to the point of boredom.[3]

XVIII. When he learned that his father had been killed by lightning and his brother slain by his own father-in-law, and that Diocletian had been hailed as Augustus, Carinus committed acts of still greater vice and crime, as though now set free and released by the death of his kindred from all the restraints of filial duty. He did not, however, lack strength of purpose for claiming the imperial power.[4] For he fought many battles against Diocletian, but finally, being defeated in a fight near Margus,[5] he perished.

We have now come to the end of the three emperors, Carus, Numerian and Carinus, after whom the gods gave us Diocletian and Maximian to be our princes, joining to these great men Galerius and Constantius, the one of whom was born to wipe out the

[5] At the mouth of the river of the same name (mod. Morava), a tributary of the Danube below Belgrade. The scene of the battle is described in Eutropius, ix. 20 as between Viminacium (Kostolacz, near the mouth of the Morava) and Aureus Mons (Oresac) about 25 m. further west. According to the *Epitome* and Zosimus, Carinus was killed by a tribune whose wife he had seduced, according to Eutropius, he was betrayed by his army. As he assumed the consulship (for the third time) on 1 Jan., 285, the battle was after that date.

acceptam ignominiam Valeriani captivitate deleret,
4 alter, qui Gallias Romanis legibus redderet. quattuor sane principes mundi fortes, sapientes, benigni et admodum liberales, unum in rem publicam sentientes, perreverentes[1] Romani senatus, moderati, populi amici, persancti,[2] graves, religiosi et quales principes
5 semper oravimus. quorum vitam singulis libris Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano ab epistulis fuit, scripsit, quod idcirco dixi ne quis a me rem tantam requireret, maxime cum vel vivorum principum vita non sine reprehensione dicatur.

XIX. Memorabile maxime Cari et Carini et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos populo Romano novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt, quos in Palatio
2 circa porticum stabuli pictos vidimus. nam et neurobaten, qui velut in ventis cothurnatus ferretur, exhibuit, et toichobaten, qui per parietem urso eluso cucurrit, et ursos mimum agentes et item centum salpistas uno crepitu concinentes et centum cerataulas,[3] choraulas centum, etiam pythaulas centum, pantomimos et gymnicos mille, pegma praeterea, cuius flammis scaena conflagravit, quam Diocletianus postea

[1] *perreuerentes* Petschenig, Hohl; *spe reuerent* P; *semper reuerentes* Gruter, Peter. [2] *persancti* Gruter; *pescate* P. [3] *cerataulas* Salm.; *capitaulas* P.

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[1] By his victories over the Persians; see note to c. ix. 3.

[2] By his victories over the Franks and the Alamani and other Germans and his suppression of the revolts of the British pretenders Carausius and Allectus.

[3] Unknown.

[4] Otherwise unknown, unless it be the place that is mentioned in the title *Comes domesticorum et stabuli sacri* in an inscription of Stilicho from Rome; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1731 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1278.

disgrace incurred by Valerian's capture,[1] the other, to bring again the province of Gaul under the laws of Rome.[2] Four rulers, indeed, of the world were they, brave, wise, kindly, and wholly generous, all of one mind toward the commonwealth, very respectful to the Roman senate, moderate, friends of the people, revered, earnest, and pious, and, in fact, such emperors as we have always desired. Their lives have been related, each in a separate book, by Claudius Eusthenius,[3] imperial secretary to Diocletian—a fact which I mention in order that none may demand so great a work from me, especially since the biographies even of living emperors cannot be written without incurring blame.

XIX. The most noteworthy event of the rule of Carus, Carinus and Numerian was the series of games that they gave the Roman people, distinguished by some novel spectacles, a painting of which we have seen in the Palace near the portico of the stables.[4] For there was exhibited a rope-walker, who in his buskins seemed to be walking on the winds, also a wall-climber, who, eluding a bear, ran up a wall, also some bears which acted a farce, and, besides, one hundred trumpeters who blew one single blast together, one hundred horn-blowers, one hundred flute-players, also one hundred flute-players who accompanied songs, one thousand pantomimists and gymnasts, moreover, a mechanical scaffold,[5] which, however, burst into flames and burned up the stage—though this Diocletian later restored on a

[5] A scaffold suddenly raised aloft and opened to exhibit performers; they are described in Seneca, *Epist.*, 88, 22 and Juvenal, iv. 122.

magnificentiorem reddidit. mimos praeterea undique
3 advocavit. exhibuit et ludum Sarmaticum, quo dulcius nihil est. exhibuit Cyclopea. donatum[1] est Graecis artificibus et gymnicis et histrionibus et musicis aurum et argentum, donata et vestis serica.

XX. Sed haec omnia nescio quantum apud populum gratiae habeant, nullius sunt momenti apud principes
2 bonos. Diocletiani denique dictum fertur, cum ei quidam largitionalis suus editionem Cari laudaret, dicens multum placuisse principes illos causa ludorum theatralium ludorumque circensium; "Ergo," inquit,
3 "bene risus est in imperio suo Carus." denique cum omnibus gentibus advocatis Diocletianus daret ludos, parcissime usus est liberalitate,[2] dicens castiores esse oportere ludos spectante censore.

4 Legat hunc locum Iunius Messalla, quem ego libere culpare audeo. ille enim patrimonium suum scaenicis dedit, heredibus abnegavit, matris tunicam dedit mimae, lacernam patris mimo, et recte, si aviae pallio aurato atque purpureo pro syrmate tragoedus
5 uteretur. inscriptum est adhuc in choraulae pallio tyrianthino, quo ille velut spolio nobilitatis exsultat,

[1] *adornatum* P. [2] *usus est liberalitate* Σ; *ausus libertate* P; *est usus liberalitate* Peter.

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[1] Probably in celebration of Carus' victory over the Sarmatians (see c. viii. 1; ix. 4), but the writer seems to be thinking of the Ludi Sarmatici which, according to the Calendar of Philocalus of A.D. 354 (see *C.I.L.*, i². p. 276 f.), were held regularly on 25 Nov.-1 Dec., in honour, apparently, of the victories of Constantine I. or Constantius II.

[2] See note to *Gall.*, viii. 3.

more magnificent scale. Furthermore, actors were gathered together from every side. They were given also Sarmatian games,[1] than which nothing affords greater pleasure, and, besides, a Cyclops-performance.[2] And they bestowed on the Greek artists and gymnasts and actors and musicians both gold and silver and they bestowed on them also garments of silk.

XX. But although all these things have a certain charm for the populace, they are of no importance in a good emperor. In fact, a saying of Diocletian's is current, uttered when one of his treasury-officials[3] was speaking to him with praise of Carus' exhibition, saying that he and his sons, while emperors, had gained great favour by means of theatrical spectacles and spectacles in the circus. "And so," he remarked, "Carus caused great laughter during his rule." In fact, when Diocletian himself presented spectacles, after inviting all nations thereto, he was most sparing in his liberality, declaring that there should be more continence in games when a censor was looking on.

I should like this passage to be read by Junius Messalla,[4] with whom I will dare to find fault frankly. For he has cut off his natural heirs and bestowed his ancestral fortune on players, giving a tunic of his mother's to an actress and a cloak of his father's to an actor—and rightly so, I suppose, if a gold and purple mantle of his grandmother's could be used as a costume by a tragic actor! Indeed, the name of Messalla's wife is still embroidered on the violet mantle of a flute-player, who exults in it as the spoils

[3] The term *largitiones* came to mean, in the later empire, the public treasury, since largesses from public funds depended entirely on the emperor's generosity.

[4] Unknown.

Messallae nomen uxoris. iam quid lineas petitas Aegypto loquar? quid Tyro et Sidone tenuitate perlucidas, micantes purpura, plumandi difficultate per-
6 nobiles? donati sunt ab Atrebatis birri petiti, donati birri Canusini, Africani, opes in scaena non prius
XXI. visae. et haec quidem idcirco ego in litteras rettuli, quod futuros editores pudore tangeret, ne patrimonia sua proscriptis legitimis heredibus mimis et balatronibus deputarent.

2 Habe, mi amice, meum munus, quod ego, ut saepe dixi, non eloquentiae causa sed curiositatis in lumen edidi, id praecipue agens ut, si quis eloquens vellet facta principum reserare, materiam non requireret,
3 habiturus meos libellos ministros eloquii. te quaeso, sis contentus nosque sic voluisse scribere melius quam potuisse contendas.

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[1] See *Gall.*, vi. 6.

[2] Mod. Canosa in Apulia. The wool of this region was famous, and a *βίρρος Καννσεῖνος* is valued in the Edict of Diocletian at 4000 denarii (about $25).

of a noble house. Why, now, should I speak of those linen garments imported from Egypt? Why of those garments from Tyre and Sidon, so fine and transparent, of gleaming purple and famed for their embroidery-work? He has presented, besides, capes brought from the Atrabati[1] and capes from Canusium[2] and Africa, such splendour as never before was seen on the stage. XXI. All of this I have put into writing in order that future givers of spectacles may be touched by a sense of shame and so be deterred from cutting off their lawful heirs and squandering their inheritances on actors and mountebanks.

And now, my friend, accept this gift of mine, which, as I have often said, I have brought out to the light of day, not because of its elegance of style but because of its learned research, chiefly with this purpose in view, that if any gifted stylist should wish to reveal the deeds of the emperors, he might not lack the material, having, as he will, my little books as ministers to his eloquence. I pray you, then, to be content and to contend that in this work I had the wish to write better than I had the power.

INDEX OF NAMES

ABBREVIATIONS

A . . . Aurelian.
AC . . . Avidius Cassius.
Ae . . . Aelius.
AP . . . Antoninus Pius.
C . . . Commodus.
CA . . . Clodius Albinus.
Ca . . . Carus.
Cc . . . Caracalla.
Cl . . . Claudius.
D . . . Diadumenianus.
DJ . . . Didius Julianus.
E . . . Elagabalus.
F . . . Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, Bonosus.
Ga . . . Gallienus.
Ge . . . Geta.
Go . . . Gordian.
H . . . Hadrian.
HP . . . Pertinax.
M . . . Maximinus.
MA . . . M. Aurelius Antoninus.
M-B . . . Maximus and Balbinus.
OM . . . Opellius Macrinus.
P . . . Probus.
PN . . . Pescennius Niger.
S . . . Septimius Severus.
SA . . . Severus Alexander.
T . . . Tacitus.
TT . . . Tyranni Triginta.
V . . . Lucius Verus.
Va . . . Valerian.

Names of Roman emperors and pretenders are in capital letters. The words Roma, Romanus, Graecus and Graecanicus have been omitted.

Ababa: mother of Maximinus M 1, 6.
Abgarus, King (pretender) of Osrhoene: relations of Antoninus Pius with AP 9, 6.
Abgarus IX, King of Osrhoene: conquered by Severus S 18, 1.
Ablavius Murena, prefect of guard: letter of Valerian to Cl 15.
Abraham: statue of in chapel of Severus Alexander SA 29, 2.
Academia: place in Hadrian's villa near Tibur H 26, 5.
Achaia: Hadrian in H 13, 1-2: revolt of quelled AP 5, 5: Annia Faustina killed in C 7, 7: Valens proconsul of Ga 2, 2; TT 19, 1: Piso in Ga 2, 2: pestilence in cities of Ga 5, 5: Goths defeated in Ga 6, 1: invaded by Goths Ga 13, 8: Messalla governor of Cl 16, 1.
Achilleis: poem of Statius, imitated by Gordian I. Go 3, 3.
Achilles: statue of in chapel of Severus Alexander SA 31, 4: Maximinus likened to M 4, 9; Alexander at tomb of P 1, 2.
Achilleus: relative of Zenobia, made ruler of Palmyra A 31, 2.
Acholius: master of ceremonies under Valerian A 12, 4: work on Severus Alexander cited SA 14, 6; 48, 7; 64, 5.
Adiabeni: conquered by Severus S 9, 9: made tributary S 18, 1.
Adiabenicus: cognomen borne by Severus S 9, 10: by Aurelian A 30, 5.
Aebutianus: prefect of the guard, killed by Commodus C 6, 12.

Aelia, Pons, at Rome: built by Hadrian H 19, 11.
Aelianus: *see* Celsus.
Aelius: name given to month C 12, 2.
Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius, L. (Agrippus), actor: brought by L. Verus from Syria V 8, 10; killed by Commodus C 7, 2.
Aelius Bassianus: proconsul of Africa, letter to CA 4, 5-7.
Aelius Celsus: killed by Severus S 13, 2.
Aelius Cesettianus, city-prefect: speech of T 7, 2-3.
Aelius Corduenus: succeeded in command by Niger PN 4, 4.
Aelius Decius Triccianus: accomplice in murder of Caracalla Cc 6, 7.
Aelius Gordianus: counsellor of Severus Alexander SA 68, 1.
Aelius Hadrianus: great-uncle of Hadrian, prophesied his rule H 2, 4.
Aelius Hadrianus Afer, P.: father of Hadrian H 1, 2.
Aelius Iunius Cordus: cited CA 5, 10; 7, 2: 11, 2; M 4, 1; 6, 8; 12, 7; 27, 7; 28, 10; 29, 10; 31, 4; Go 4, 6; 5, 6; 12, 1; 14, 7; 17, 3; 19, 8; 21, 3-4; 22, 2; 26, 2; 31, 6; 33, 4; M-B 4, 2; 12, 4: criticized OM 1, 3-5; M-B 4, 5.
Aelius Lampridius: Vopiscus will imitate P 2, 7.
Aelius Maurus: cited S 20, 1.
Aelius Sabinus: cited M 32, 1.
Aelius Scorpianus, consul: speech of P 11, 5.
Aelius Serenianus: counsellor of Severus Alexander SA 68, 1.
Aelius Stilo: killed by Severus S 13, 5.
AELIUS VERUS: original names H 23, 10-11; Ae 2, 1. 6; 6, 6: ancestry Ae 2, 7-8; V 1, 7. 9: adopted by Hadrian H 23, 10-11; Ae 1, 2; 2, 1. 6; 3, 1. 8; AP 4, 1; V 1, 6; CA 2, 5: honours and offices, H 23, 12-13; Ae 3, 2-3; 6, 1; V 1, 8: first to receive title of Caesar Ae 1, 2; 2, 1; V 1, 6: Hadrian's affection for Ae 3, 4: prowess in province Ae 3, 5-6: Hadrian's regret for adoption H 23, 14; Ae 3, 7; 4, 1-6; 6, 2-3: ill-health and
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Aelius Xiphidius, prefect of treasury: letter of Valerian to A 12.
Aemilia, Via: supplies of in charge of Pertinax HP 2, 2.
Aemilia Clara: mother of Didius Julianus DJ 1, 2.
AEMILIANUS: seized rule in Egypt Ga 4, 1; 5, 6; 6, 4: TT 22, 3-7: defeated and killed Ga 4, 2; TT 22, 8; 26, 4: supported at Rome Ga 9, 1: planned expedition against Indi TT 22, 8: called Alexander or Alexandrinus TT 22, 7.
Aemilianus: *see* Asellius: Casperius: Cornelius Scipio.
Aemilius, Pons, at Rome: Elagabalus' body thrown from E 17, 2.
Aemilius Iuncus: consul, exiled by Commodus C 4, 11.
Aemilius Laetus, Q.: prefect of the guard, dissuaded Commodus from burning Rome C 15, 7: accomplice in murder of Commodus C 17, 1-2; HP 5, 1: made Pertinax emperor HP 4, 5-6; 5, 1-2: conspired with soldiers to kill Pertinax HP 10, 8—11, 13: saved Didius Julianus from Commodus DJ 6, 2: death DJ 6, 2: had Severus appointed to command of army in Germany S 4, 4.
Aemilius Papinianus: friend or relative of Severus Cc 8, 2-3: consilium included Ulpian and Paulus PN 7, 4; SA 26, 6: Caracalla entered Palace leaning on arm of Cc 3, 2; advised harmony between Caracalla and Geta Cc 8, 3: advised against murder of Geta Cc 8, 4: refused to write speech for Caracalla excusing murder of Geta Cc 8, 5-6: murder of S 21, 8; Cc 4, 1; 8, 1-8; Ge 6, 3: murder of son of Cc 4, 2.

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Aeneas: Diocletian likened himself to Ca 13, 3.

Aeneid: quoted H 2, 8; Ae 4, 1-3; CA 5, 2. 4; OM 12, 9; D 8, 7; SA 4, 6; M 27, 4; Go 20, 5; TT 24, 3; Cl 10, 4-6; T 5, 1; Ca 13, 3: imitated by Gordian I. Go 3, 3.

Aethiopia: omen given by soldier from S 22, 4-5; women from E 32, 5.

Aetius: son-in-law of Severus, enriched and made consul S 8, 1-2.

Aetna: ascent of by Hadrian H 13, 3.

Afer: used by oracle to designate Severus PN 8, 1-2.

Afer: *see* Aelius Hadrianus: Septimius: Terentius.

Afranius Hannibalianus: trained by Probus P 22, 3.

Africa: Hadrian in and generosity to H 13, 4; 22, 14: pretended journey of Commodus to C 9, 1: Pertinax proconsul of HP 4, 1; DJ 2, 3; Didius Julianus proconsul of DJ 2, 3: Severus a native of S 1, 1; CA 5, 5: Severus in S 2, 2-9: legions sent to by Severus in fear that Niger would seize S 8, 7; PN 5, 4-5; people of honoured Severus as god S 13, 8: Severus had accent of S 19, 9: Septizonium visible to people coming from S 24, 3: Albinus a native of CA 1, 3; 10, 6; 12, 8: spent boyhood in CA 5, 1: Aelius Bassianus proconsul of CA 4, 5: originally conquered by the senate CA 13, 6: Macrinus in OM 4, 3-5: Caelianus a native of D 8, 9: revolt and defeat of Gordians in M 13, 6; 14, 2-4; 19, 2-3; Go 7, 2—9, 8; 10, 1; 11, 4; 15—16; 17, 1; 20, 4; 34, 1; M-B 9, 5: anger of Maximinus at people of M 17, 7; 18, 1. 3; Go 13, 3-4; 14, 1-3. 7: Gordian I. proconsul of M 13, 6; 14, 2; 16, 1; Go 2, 4; 5; 7, 2; 17, 1: Balbinus proconsul of M-B 7, 2: revolt against Gordian III. suppressed Go 23, 4-5: people of subject to Romans Va 1, 4: desired rescue of Valerian Va 3, 2: Macrianus' valour in TT 12, 17: Vibius Passienus proconsul of, made Celsus emperor in TT 29, 1-2: clothing supplied to proconsul of allotted to Claudius Cl 15, 4: carpets from A 12, 1: linen tunics from A 48, 5: danger of revolt in after Aurelian's death T 3, 6: Roman emperor destined to drive barbarians from T 15, 2: Probus' victories in P 9, 1-2; 12, 3: Firmus in command of frontier of F 3, 1: recovered by Saturninus F 9, 5: Saturninus studied in F 10, 4: under rule of Carinus Ca 16, 2: capes from Ca 20, 6.

Africana, Classis: organized by Commodus C 17, 7: names given to C 17, 8.

Africanus: Hadrian's caution for F 8, 10.

Africanus: bestowed as cognomen on Gordian I. Go 9, 3-4; 17, 2.

Africanus: *see* Cornelius Scipio.

Agaclytus: influencial freedman of M. Aurelius and L. Verus MA 15, 2; V 9, 3: married to widow of Libo V 9, 4: alleged conspiracy of L. Verus against M. Aurelius revealed by V 10, 5.

Agricola: *see* Calpurnius.

Agrippa: *see* Marcius.

Agrippae, Lavacrum, at Rome: restored by Hadrian H 19, 10.

Agrippae, Templum, at Rome: repaired by Antoninus Pius AP 8, 2.

Agrippianae, Saepta, at Rome: restored by Hadrian H 19, 10: Basilica Alexandrina near SA 26, 7.

Agrippina (Cologne): Victorinus and son killed at TT 6, 3: their tombs at TT 7, 2: Proculus and Bonosus seized power at P 18, 5.

Agrippinus: *see* Casperius.

Agrippus: *see* Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius, L.

Ajax: Maximinus likened to M 4, 9.

Alamanni: conquered by Caracalla Cc 10, 6: Roman emperor destined to rule T 15, 2: driven back by Probus P 12, 3: by Proculus F 13, 3.

Alamannia: made to fear Romans TT 8, 11.

Alamannicus: cognomen assumed by Caracalla Cc 10, 6.

Alani: defeated under Antoninus Pius AP 5, 5: warred against Rome MA 22, 1: Maximinus' mother one of M 1, 5: friendly relations with Maximinus M 4, 5: defeated Gordian III. Go 34, 4: led as captives in Aurelian's triumph A 33, 4: booty taken from by Probus P 8, 3.

Alba, town in Italy: villa of M. Aurelius at AC 9, 8. 11: soldiers at angered by murder of Geta Cc 2, 7-8; Ge 6, 1-2.

Alba, district of Germany: Germans driven beyond by Probus P 13, 7.

Albani, people of Transcaucasia: Hadrian's friendly relations with H 20, 13: offered aid for rescue of Valerian Va 4, 1: revered Aurelian A 41, 10.

Albanus, Mons, in Italy: soldiers from killed Maximinus and son M 23, 6.

Albingauni, town in N.W., Italy: Proculus born in F 12 1: his descendants lived in F 13, 5.

Albini, family of: Clodius Albinus descended from CA 4, 1. 7: prowess of during the Republic CA 13, 5.

Albinus: *see* Ceionius: Clodius: Nummius: Pescennius.

Albis, river of Germany: Chauci lived on DJ 1, 7.

Albus: used by oracle to designate Clodius Albinus PN 8, 1-3; CA 1, 4.

Alcyonae: poem of Cicero, imitated by Gordian I. Go 3, 2.

Alexander: name given to Aemilianus TT 22, 7.

Alexander of Cotiaeum, grammarian: teacher of M. Aurelius MA 2, 3.

Alexander the Great: died without naming successor H 4, 9; opinion of Philip concerning MA 27, 11: admired by Caracalla Cc 2, 1-2: Severus Alexander born in temple of and on date of death of SA 5, 1-2; 13, 1: called Magnus after many achievements SA 11, 4: parents of SA 13, 3-4: Severus Alexander in costume of SA 25, 9: life of studied and imitated by Severus Alexander SA 30, 3: statue of in private chapel of Severus

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Alexander: *see* Iulius.

Alexandria: daughter of Avidius Cassius, allowed to go free by M. Aurelius MA 26, 12; AC 9, 3.

Alexandria: riots at H 12, 1: Museum at H 20, 2: Maecianus slain at MA 25, 4; AC 7, 4: leniency of M. Aurelius to MA 26, 1, 3: crystal cups from used by L. Verus V 5, 3: actors and musicians from V 8, 11: grain from C 17, 7: Severus at and granted rights to S 16, 9; 17, 2-3: Caracalla's cruelty at Cc 6, 2-3: people of ridiculed Severus Alexander SA 28, 7; riot at caused Aemilianus to declare himself emperor TT 22, 3: fasces not allowed to be brought into TT 22, 10-11: Zenobia versed in history of TT 30, 22: letter of senate to council of T 18, 6: seized by Firmus F 3, 1: Hadrian's opinion of F 8, 5-8: Saturninus acclaimed emperor in F 9, 1-2.

Alexandria: name given to Carthage by Commodus C 17, 8.

Alexandriana, Aqua: brought into Rome by Severus Alexander SA 25, 3.

Alexandriana, purpura: used by Severus Alexander SA 40, 6.

Alexandrianae, ficus: showed omen of death of Severus Alexander SA 60, 4.

Alexandriani, Sodales: decreed for Severus Alexander SA 63, 4.

Alexandrias: poem in praise of Severus Alexander, imitated by Gordian I. Go 3, 3.

Alexandrina, Basilica: begun by Severus Alexander SA 26, 7.

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Alexandrinum, opus: first used by Severus Alexander SA 25, 7.

Alexandrinus: name given to Aemilianus TT 22, 7.

Allius Fuscus: killed by Commodus C 7, 6.

Alma Mons: planted with vines by Probus P 18, 8.

Alpes Cottiae: added to Empire under Nero A 21, 11.

Alpes Maritimae: Proculus a native of F 12, 1.

Alps: cheese from AP 12, 4: crossed by M. Aurelius and L. Verus MA 14, 6; V 9, 7: crossed by Maximinus and army M 21, 3: Maximus planned to defend country as far as M-B 12, 3: vines planted as far as A 48, 2.

Altinum, town in Italy: L. Verus died in V 9, 11.

Amazon: Commodus and Marcia in garb of C 11, 9: signet of Commodus CA 2, 4: Gothic women dressed as A 34, 1.

Amazonius: name given to Commodus C 11, 9: to month December C 11, 8.

Ambarvalia: celebration of A 19, 6; 20, 3.

Ambibulus: *see* Eggius.

Amburbium: celebration of A 20, 3.

Aminniae, name of grapes: omen given in T 17, 3.

Amphitheatrum at Rome (Colosseum): restored by Antoninus Pius AP 8, 2: by Elagabalus E 17, 8: by Severus Alexander SA 24, 3: women from E 32, 9: repair of discussed in senate M-B 1, 4: spectacle of Probus in P 19, 5-7.

Anacharsis: famed for philosophy A 3, 5.

Ancharius, Q., governor of the East: with Valerian at Byzantium A 13, 1.

Anchialus, city on Black Sea: Goths attempted to plunder Cl 12, 4.

Ancilia: plan to remove to temple of Elagabalus E 3, 4.

Andro: teacher of M. Aurelius MA 2, 2.

Andronicus: *see* Livius.

Aninius Macer, orator: teacher of M. Aurelius MA 2, 4.

Annia Cornificia Faustina: sister of M. Aurelius MA 1, 8.

Annia Faustina: daughter of Antoninus Pius Ae 6, 9; AP 1, 7; 10, 2: betrothed to Lucius Verus Ae 6, 9; V 2, 3: married to M. Aurelius AP 1, 7; 10, 2; MA 1, 8; 6, 6; V 2, 3: received title of Augusta MA 20, 7: unwilling to have Lucilla married to Claudius Pompeianus MA 20, 7: accused of having encouraged Avidius Cassius to revolt MA 24, 6; AC 7, 1; 9, 9; 11, 1: death MA 26, 5: honours after death MA 26, 6-9: reputed amours and lovers MA 19, 1-7; 23, 7; 26, 5; 29, 1-2; C 8, 1: M. Aurelius refused to divorce MA 19, 8-9: refused to believe rumours about MA 23, 7; 26, 5: alleged amour with L. Verus and murder of Verus V 10, 1: frustrated alleged conspiracy of Verus against M. Aurelius V 10, 5: correspondence with M. Aurelius concerning revolt of Avidius Cassius AC 9, 7-8; 9, 11—10, 10; 11, 3-8: dream at birth of Commodus C 1, 3: temple abolished by Caracalla Cc 11, 6-7.

Annia Fundania Faustina: cousin of M. Aurelius, killed by Commodus C 7, 7.

Annia Galeria Faustina: wife of Antoninus Pius AP 1, 6: aunt of M. Aurelius MA 1, 8: stories concerning character of AP 3, 7: received title of Augusta AP 5, 2: death and honours AP 6, 7-8: orphan girls endowed in memory of AP 8, 1: urged Antoninus Pius to protect his family AC 10, 1.

Annia Lucilla, daughter of M. Aurelius: married to L. Verus MA 7, 7; 9, 4-6; V 2, 4; 7, 7: married to Ti. Claudius Pompeianus after Verus' death MA 20, 6: received title of Augusta MA 20, 7: said to have murdered L. Verus V 10, 3: jealousy of Fabia V 10, 3: in conspiracy to kill Commodus C 4, 1; 8, 3: exiled C 4, 4: killed C 5, 7.

Annius Arrianus, L.: consulship of Go 29, 1.

Annius Cornicula: praised Gallienus Ga 17, 2.

Annius Florus, P.: Hadrian's exchange of epigrams with H 16, 3-4.
Annius Fuscus: father of Pescennius Niger PN 1, 3.
Annius Libo, M.: uncle of M. Aurelius MA 1, 3.
Annius Libo, M.: cousin of M. Aurelius, legate of Syria, said to have been killed by L. Verus V 9, 2: widow married to Agaclytus V 9, 3.
Annius Milo, T.: mules of F 6, 4.
Annius Severus: consul, father-in-law of Gordian I. Go 2, 2; 6, 4.
Annius Verus: great-grandfather of M. Aurelius MA 1, 4.
Annius Verus: original name of M. Aurelius MA 1, 10; 5, 5.
Annius Verus, M.: father-in-law of Antoninus Pius AP 1, 6: grandfather of M. Aurelius MA 1, 2: M. Aurelius born in second consulship and reared in house of MA 1, 5-7; consulship of HP 15, 6.
Annius Verus, M.: father of M. Aurelius MA 1, 1.
Annius Verus, M.: son of M. Aurelius, received title of Caesar MA 21, 3; C 1, 10.
Antaeus: Maximinus likened to M 6, 9.
Antimachus: poet imitated by Hadrian H 16, 2.
Antinous, favourite of Hadrian: death and consecration of H 14, 5-8: reviled by Egyptians F 8, 8.
Antioch, city in Syria: Hadrian at H 5, 9-10: people of hated by Hadrian H 14, 1: fire at AP 9, 2: L. Verus at MA 8, 12; V 7, 1-3: Claudius Pompeianus a native of MA 20, 6: loved and supported Avidius Cassius AC 6, 6; 7, 8; 9, 1: punished by M. Aurelius MA 25, 8-11; AC 9, 1: M. Aurelius at MA 26, 1: Pertinax at HP 1, 6: punished by Severus for support of Niger S 9, 4-5; Cc 1, 7: Severus at S 16, 8: rights restored to Cc 1, 7: Macrinus overthrown at OM 8, 4; 10, 1: coins with name of Diadumenianus struck at D 2, 6: people of ridiculed Severus Alexander SA 28, 7: Alexander suppressed mutiny at SA 53—54:
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Antiochianus: *see* Flavius.
Antipater: *see* Caelius: Gallus.
Antistius: favourite slave of Aurelian A 50, 3.
Antistius Burrus, L., nephew of Commodus: accused by Pertinax of treason HP 3, 7: killed by Cleander C 6, 11.
Antistius Capella: teacher of Commodus C 1, 6.
Antium, town in Italy: aqueduct in repaired by Antoninus Pius AP 8, 3.
Antius: *see* Antonius.
Antonini: Severus dreamed of being placed among S 22, 2: Niger beloved by PN 12, 6: Albinus introduced to CA 6, 1: list of OM 3, 3-4: Caracalla given by gods in the place of OM 6, 2: revered above gods D 7, 4: Elagabalus last of and disgraced name of OM 7, 8; E 1, 7; 2, 4; 18, 1; 33, 8; 34, 6; SA 2, 2: name of revered by Constantine E 2, 4: temples of to be dedicated by Severus Alexander SA 7, 5; 8, 3; 10, 7: admired and praised by Gordian I. Go 4, 7: Claudius more beloved than Cl 18, 4: Probus to be preferred to T 16, 6; P 22, 4: under Probus no longer desired P 12, 2.
Antoninianae, caracallae: presented by Caracalla to populace S 21, 11; Cc 9, 7-8; D 2, 8.
Antoninianae, paenulae: presented by Macrinus to populace D 2, 8.
Antoninianae, Plateae, at Rome: paved by Elagabalus E 24, 6.
Antoninianae, Thermae, at Rome: built by Caracalla S 21, 11; Cc 9, 4-5, 9; E 17, 8-9: portico of begun by Elagabalus E 17, 9: completed by Severus Alexander E 17, 9; SA 25, 6.

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Antoninianus: name given by Macrinus to edict D 2, 9: to military standards D 3, 1.

Antoninianus: name of coin A 9, 7; 12, 1; P 4, 5; F 15, 8.

Antoninias: poem written by Gordian I. Go 3, 3.

Antoninorum, Sepulchrum: *see* Hadriani, Sepulchrum.

Antoninus: son of M. Aurelius, died at age of four C 1, 2-4.

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